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PULUWAT GRAMMAR

by

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#### Abbreviations

References to *Three Legends of Puluwat and a Bit of Talk* (see Bibliography) are to text and verse numbers. Thus T3:19 is Text 3, verse 19. *Puluwat Dictionary* is referred to as *Dictionary*. Ulul and Pisarach dialects are referred to as Ulul and Pis.

## PREFACE

This is the third of a series of three volumes concerning the language of Puluwat in the Trukic area of Micronesia. The first volume was entitled *Three Legends of Puluwat and a Bit of Talk*, and the second, *Puluwat Dictionary*. (See the Bibliography.) In each volume I acknowledged the help of my fellow workers (Thomas Gladwin and Saul H. Rosenberg), and the various supporting agencies, including the National Science Foundation (Grant GS 1410), the Institute of Advanced Projects at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Hawaii. Again I wish also to mention persons who helped in the field in 1967, especially Father John K. Fahey, Phillip D. Bogetto, Peter Silverman, and my Puluwat informant, Tilime. Later in Honolulu, Tosiwo Nakayama and Antholino Rosokow generously and ably supplied grammatical and lexical data for their dialects, closely related Ulul and Pisarach.

Loan words are not discussed in the present grammar (but see Elbert, 1970 in the Bibliography). The grammar will be more meaningful if *Three Legends* and *Puluwat Dictionary* are at hand, as references to these works, especially to the former, abound.

The grammar is indeed far from complete; much more time would have been needed to unravel so complicated a language as this one. Further, the grammar is old-fashioned, and it is hoped, but not expected, that readers will be tolerant of an old dog who knows not new tricks.



# 1. PHONOLOGY

## Phonemes and Canonical Forms

### Consonants

Stops and affricate	p	pw	t	c	k
Fricatives			f	s	h
Nasals	m	mw	n		ng
Liquids			l	r	ʃ
Glides	w			y	

### Vowels

	F	C	B
H	i	ú	u
M	e	é	o
L	á	a	ó

B = back, C = central, F = front,

H = high, L = low, M = mid.

Pitch levels: /1 2 3 4/

Terminal junctures: /. , ?/

TABLE 1: PHONEMES

A Syllable consists of a consonant (or geminate consonants) followed by a vowel (or geminate vowels) followed optionally by a consonant (or geminate consonants). This may be written  $C_1 \pm C_1 + V_1 \pm V_1 \pm C$  or  $C_1 C_1$ . No consonant or vowel clusters occur other than geminate ones; syllables begin with consonants, but end with both consonants and vowels.

The syllable types include the following:

CV: hi <i>we</i>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V: ppi <i>sand</i>
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : rúú <i>bone</i>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : kkúú <i>finger nails</i>
CVC: mwof <i>blow</i>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> VC: llón <i>in</i>
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C: nily <i>kill-him</i>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C: mmwlik <i>pepper</i>
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> : wiill <i>wheel</i>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> : ppóhh <i>steady</i>
CVC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> : wutt <i>boathouse</i>	

### Consonants

**Voicing.** Nasals, liquids, and glides are always voiced. Stops and fricatives are generally voiceless initially, weakly voiced medially, and voiceless finally.

**Quantity.** All consonants except /w y/ occur long and short, but long /r f s/ are rare. Geminated /pw/ and /mw/ do not keep the velarisation of the first member and are written /ppw mmw/. The following geminates have not been noted in the positions indicated: \*/-ppw- -ff -mm -mmw -ngng rr- -rr ff- -ff/ and /w y/ in any position.

The phonetic quality of geminate consonant phonemes varies from extremely fortis in word-medial position, to lenis in word-initial position - even in the middle of an utterance. This lenis versus fortis quality of geminates may enable the analyst to indicate a plus juncture in the sequence /náyi + ppalúw/ (Pis) *my navigator* and no /+/ in the sequence /yappalúw/ *teach navigation*. The /+/ in such cases is recognised by the following lenis geminates, which contrast with fortis lenis within the word.

In utterance-final position geminate consonants are replaced by single consonants. It is therefore necessary for the analyst to elicit any utterance-final single consonant (as in citation forms) in an utterance-medial position. If he hears [kac] *good* (perhaps with a slightly delayed release of /c/) he may ask for a *good day*, which turns out to be [kat:ʃúnfá:n] phonemically /kaccún fáán/. When he hears [wut] *boathouse* he may ask for *my boathouse* [wut:ey], and he writes /wutt/. On hearing [mák] *to write* he elicits /mákkey/ *write it*. The geminates, now that they are word-medial, are fortis.

A foreigner may vacillate between recording double vowels and single consonants, or the reverse. Early recordings in the following list that I later rejected are in parentheses:



Double vowels	Double consonants
yapaaf <i>to reward</i>	yappar <i>breadfruit sap</i>
(léélér)	léllér <i>noise</i>
yáááray <i>only one (animate)</i>	(yáálláyeyay)
yóótek <i>to pray</i>	yóttek <i>curse</i>

A complicating factor is the lengthening of almost any consonant except /w y/ in slow or emphatic speech, and sometimes in citation forms. I was surprised to hear that although the common word for *ghost* - hoomá - had a single /h/, the derived *likohhoomá hide-and-peek* (*tow-the-ghost*) had /-hh-/. The Puluwat call long consonants *heavy* (ccówo), contrasting with the *light* (ppe1) short consonants. My informant explained that the 'heavy' sounds occurred in *hide-and-peek* as a way of frightening children; he seemed to be implying that the 'heavy' sounds were more forceful.

Triple consonants have been noted only in the common negative /mmm!/.

**Velarisation.** Velarised /pw/ and /mw/ are difficult to distinguish from /p/ and /m/ in utterance-final position and before /u o ú/. The closure of the lips with /-pw -mw/ may be slight and rapid or even lacking. One may elicit a following element, as /méhhópw/, /méhhópw eey/ *coconut-crab, this coconut-crab* or /yimw/, /yimwey/ *house, my-house*.

The quality of the following vowel may assist in distinguishing velarised from nonvelarised phonemes. After /pw mw/ the back vowels and /e/ seem to be slightly centered, whereas /a/ is slightly raised, as in these examples:

pwuuf <i>crazy</i>	puuf <i>foam</i>
pekiy <i>to carry</i>	pekkily <i>to shoot</i>
pwacc <i>sprout</i>	paccawú <i>hungry</i>
mmwan <i>before</i>	maan <i>animal</i>
yópwut <i>to dislike</i>	yapungúú <i>to correct</i>

A similar centering may be noted after /w-/, as in *wetiwet1 mwo wait* or *wukkur to stroll*.

The term 'velarisation' is used by Dyen (1949:423, 1965:2-3) and Goodenough (1966b:26-7), presumably because the back of the tongue is raised slightly in the production of /pw mw/, as for the production of back vowels. Furthermore, 'labialised bilabial' is not a graceful term.

Stops and Affricate /p pw t c k/. The stops are articulated at bilabial, dental, and velar positions. /pw/ is velarised, and /c/ is an alveolar affricate. All the stops occur singly and lengthened in all positions, except that \*/-ppw-/ has not been noted. /-pp -ppw/ are rare.

The stops are weakly voiced in the middle of an utterance, but elsewhere are voiceless. Aspiration is very slight or absent. /-t -k/ are sometimes unreleased before a pause. The release of /-cc/ is quite audible. School children often pronounce /c/ as [ts], but this may be a fad. A slightly palatalised [pʲ] has been noted in some dialects, but no minimal pairs have been found, and informants vary as to degree of palatalisation or its complete absence. Words sometimes heard with slight palatalisation of /p-/ include /pááwo/ *shark*, and /pákkin/ *belt*.

/k-/ is replaced by the glides /w-/ and /y-/ in some words (the glides, as previously mentioned, are dropped after consonants in fast speech). In the following, the forms most commonly heard precede:

kapong, yapong-i-y *to greet*

kereker, yereker *rat*

wo, ko *you (polite)*

woow, koow *coconut fibre*

yáát, káát *boy*

yákil-a, ka-kil *to try* (yá- and ka- are causatives)

ya-mwar, ka-mwar *to hold*

yápin, kapin *bottom*

yéé, kée *fishhook*

/k-/ is replaced by /w-/, /y-/, and  $\emptyset$  in many words, as kée, yéé, éé *fishhook*; koor, woor, oor *coconut fibre*.

#### Contrasts

p/pw:	paap <i>board</i>	pwaapw <i>later</i>
	yiipaaf <i>banana species</i>	yipwan <i>his footstep</i>
	tappey <i>my age</i>	tapweey <i>accompany-him</i>
p/f:	ppalúw <i>navigator</i>	falúw <i>mast socket</i>
	piipiy <i>to inspect</i>	fiifi <i>flash</i>
	paayip <i>pipe</i>	laayif <i>knife</i>

p/pp:	par <i>blind</i>	ppar <i>attached</i>
	yapaaf <i>to reward dancers</i>	yappar <i>breadfruit sap</i>
	lap <i>big</i>	rapp <i>to upset</i>
pw/ppw:	pwél <i>burned</i>	ppwél <i>dirt</i>
	yiipw <i>footstep</i>	heleppw <i>earthquake</i>
t/tt:	tefan <i>his relationship</i>	ttef <i>to tear</i>
	ya a fáyito <i>he came</i>	ya a yitto <i>he came</i>
	yóótek <i>to pray</i>	yóttek <i>curse</i>
	túút <i>breast</i>	wutt <i>boathouse</i>
c/cc:	cómmóng <i>many</i>	ccówo <i>heavy</i>
	kacito <i>movie</i>	kaccún fáán <i>good day</i>
	pwéc <i>tree shoot</i>	kacc <i>good</i>
<p>(/c/ and /r/ are used interchangeably in a few words; caw, raw <i>slow</i>; céccén, réccén <i>wet</i>; ceec, reec <i>to tremble</i>. This interchange may be due to Trukese influence, as generally Truk /c/ corresponds to Puluwat /r/.</p>		
k/kk:	kltekit <i>small</i>	yátekkit <i>children</i>
	rak <i>only</i>	mákk <i>write</i>

**Fricatives /f s h/.** The fricatives occur singly and doubled, but no examples have been found of \*/-ff/. They are articulated at labio-dental, dental, and glottal positions and are always voiceless. /s/ to the Puluwat is somewhat of a 'foreign' sound and occurs principally in easily recognised loan words such as sukuul *school* from English, sasing *photograph* from Japanese, kilissow *thanks* from Trukese or Mortlockese, and sillo *pig* probably from a Western dialect. The sound is heard a great deal in songs (which might indicate that it is an older form). /s/ varies freely with /h/ in some loan words. Two little sisters on Puluwat known as Sliis *Cecelia* and Suus *Suzie* are frequently called Hihl and Huuhi. *Airplane* is both hikooki and sikooki. Words with /s/ taken recently from Trukese, however, are never heard with /h/, as in kilissow *thanks* and yómwusaaló *excuse*, and only a few /h/ phonemes are replaceable by /s/, as tipih and tipis *mistake*. Most of the words with /h/ are not loans. The two sounds are separate phonemes. /h/ differs from all other consonants in that syllables beginning with /h/ are always stressed. Even an excrescent vowel following /-h/ is stressed, as yekúhú rak *just a little*.

## Contrasts

f/h:	fééfe <i>breadfruit flower</i>	hééfé <i>new</i>
	kúf <i>lose</i>	yekúh <i>a little</i>
f/ff:	fal <i>to carve</i>	ffal <i>reduplication of fal</i>
	tefen <i>relationship of</i>	liffang <i>gift</i>
	hafof <i>neck</i>	
s/h:	soopw <i>soap</i>	hóópw <i>village</i>
	Yines <i>Inez</i>	yinah <i>there</i>
s/ss:	sense <i>teacher</i>	sse <i>to run</i>
	sinisly <i>change</i>	kilissow <i>thanks</i>
		pwooss <i>boss</i>
h/hh:	hó <i>canoe thwart</i>	hhóó <i>socket</i>
	hooho <i>lashing</i>	hohhón <i>surface</i>
	pwoh <i>lovely</i>	ppóhh <i>steady</i>

Nasals /m mw n ng/. The nasals are bilabial, velarised bilabial, dental, and velar. They occur both long and short initially and medially, but \*/-mm -mmw -nng/ have not been noted.

The nasals are always voiced. /m-/ and /mw-/ are hard to distinguish before /u/ and /o/. /m/ is sometimes slightly palatalised before /o/, contrasting with unpalatalised /mw/: Ya mwof áng *the wind blew* and ya moor efemah *the man was tired*.

Recognition of the distinction of final /-m/ and /-mw/ is similar to that of final /-p/ and /-pw/.

## Contrasts

m/mw:	maaf <i>preserved breadfruit</i>	mwaaí <i>to admire</i>
	hámáy <i>my father</i>	hemwaay <i>sick</i>
	niim <i>bailer</i>	yiimw <i>house</i>
m/mm:	móóng <i>top of head</i>	mmóng <i>big</i>
	hámán <i>his father</i>	hámmán <i>our (exc.) father</i>
	taam <i>outrigger float</i>	
mw/mm:	mwala <i>thorn</i>	mmwál <i>bitter</i>
	ya a mwéngé <i>he has eaten</i>	mwémmwéngé <i>eating</i>
	yiimw <i>house</i>	

n/ng:	niiy <i>hit him</i> ngúnly <i>my soul</i> ngúún <i>soul</i>	ngliiy <i>my tooth</i> ngúúngú <i>to moan</i> ngúúng <i>to chew</i>
n/l:	nó <i>wave</i> fanéfan <i>character</i>	ló <i>to go</i> falefal <i>to cut</i>
n/nn:	naaté <i>ladder</i> wo le ló ne <i>goodby, Madame</i> fakkon <i>very</i>	nnatá <i>to appear</i> ya a nné <i>it's delicious</i> pwonféngann <i>to promise one another</i>
nn/ll:	nnaf <i>enough</i> ya a nnaf <i>it's enough</i>	llo <i>disgusting</i> ya a llo <i>it's disgusting</i> méll <i>finished</i>
ng/nng:	ngé <i>but</i>  yengaang <i>work</i>	nngé <i>a strand tree</i> nngaw <i>bad</i> fayenngaw <i>to harm</i>

Liquids. /l/ is an apico-alveolar lateral, /f/ a double-tap trill; /r/ suggests an American "r" but initially sounds somewhat longer, and the tongue is often raised towards the hard palate. /rr/ and /ff/ are rare, and have been noted only medially. /ll/ is common initially and medially, but rare finally. /-l/ in some words is confused by foreigners with /-n/, as in yaawúl *sling*.

#### Contrasts

l/r/f:	láng <i>rain</i> lúúw <i>chew</i> meeli <i>maybe</i> malemal <i>storm</i>	raan <i>water</i> rúú <i>bone</i> merá <i>metal</i> mwaramwar <i>taut</i>	fáán <i>day</i> fú <i>surprised</i> mefam <i>moon</i> mwáfamwáf <i>lei</i>
l/ll:	ló <i>to go</i> yálet <i>sun</i> pwúl <i>burn</i> yapwúlá <i>burn it</i>	llón <i>in</i> yee llet <i>it's true</i> pwúll <i>to break</i> pwúllú yífá <i>to break the tree</i>	
f/ff:	fikífik <i>fast</i> meréfak <i>easy</i>	likóófoffoof <i>to faint</i> foffongofong <i>to hear</i>	
r/rr:	rik <i>small</i>	yawrirrik <i>small-sized</i>	

Glides /w y/. Glides preceding phonetically similar vowels are not heard in fast speech after consonants, and sometimes elsewhere.

'Phonetically similar' in this context includes /w/ and following /ú u o/ and /y/ and following /i e á/. Thus from the bases *yáát boy* and *wóf to be* are derived

*yátewe the boy*

*yeray át one boy*

*ye wóf eray there is one*

*ye hópw óf there are none*

After vowels and pauses and before phonetically similar vowels, initial /w/ and /y/ are hard to hear and may not always be present, as in such common words as *yíimw house* and *wuur banana* and in the utterances cited above. They are less distinct than their counterparts in such English words as *buyer* (as Dyen says of Trukese) and *our*.

Initial /w-/ before a phonetically dissimilar vowel is preceded by a slight u-like onglide, as in [<sup>u</sup>wa] *canoe*, which contrasts with a clear /u-/ in /uwaato/ *bring*. Similarly, initial /y-/ before a phonetically dissimilar vowel may be preceded by an e-like onglide, as [<sup>e</sup>yóó] *yes*.

In complete reduplications the medial glide may be clear, whereas the initial one seems to lengthen the following vowel rather than to constitute a clear /w/ or /y/:

*yafiyef stripe*

*yekiyek to think*

*wonowono to lie down*

/-w/ contrasts with /-wo/ and /-wú/, as in /nngaw/ *bad* and /háwo/ *ashamed*.

The phonetic realisation of /-w-/ and /-y-/ between like vowels may be an open transition with rearticulation or even a glottal stop:

[wupwuuwupw] *to hit*

[lee fáf] *time of evening meal*

[le ʔefáng] *season without breadfruit*

The glides, especially /y/, which does not occur next to other consonants, are often lost in word-final position, as slow /yly mwerán/ *want* and fast /yi mwerán/. /ngiiy/, meaning both *tooth* and *my tooth* is often /ngli/, /wo/ *you* is often /o/, /woon/ *to lie down* is often /oon/. These losses are in addition to the previously mentioned loss after consonants.

In the traditional spelling /y/ is never written, and /w/ is not written before phonetically similar vowels. Orthographic *ot* may be either /woot/ *Colocasia taro*, /wot/ *to discharge*, /yot-/ *time*, /yóót/ *house rafter* or /yótt/ *coconut sponge*.

Dyen pointed out the existence of the two glides phonemes (1965:2), and apparently first used them in 1949. Goodenough (1966:97-8) debates the phonemic status of the semivowels and concludes that they are indeed phonemes, but because of the "established orthographic habits among the Trukese people" he is putting initial *y* in parentheses in his dictionary and listing the dictionary entries alphabetically according to the vowel.

This is not done in this work partly because of the necessity of indicating the very strong /y/ in some words (as *yóó yes* and *yo capture*, which many Trukese write *eo*), and more importantly, because of the many contrasts, such as are indicated below.

#### Initial and medial contrasts

w/y:	wiifá <i>stick dance</i>	yifá <i>tree</i>
	wefewef <i>bright</i>	yefiyef <i>to shout</i>
	wáán <i>canoe of</i>	yááng <i>wind</i>
	warúng <i>swamp plant species</i>	yafung <i>coconut cream</i>
	woong <i>turtle</i>	yoong <i>tree species</i>
	woo <i>house rafter</i>	yo <i>to catch</i>
	wóó <i>color</i>	yóó <i>yes</i>
	wóóf <i>on-them</i>	yóófiy <i>to chant</i>
	iwe <i>well</i> (conjunction)	yiyé <i>where?</i>
	waawa <i>to use a vehicle</i>	yááyá <i>to use (general)</i>
	nawún <i>his son</i>	layú <i>tomorrow</i>
	yaawút <i>current, finger</i>	yaayúw <i>mast</i>
	wóówóó <i>color</i>	yóóyóó <i>to curse</i>

#### Final contrasts

In utterance-initial position, vowels are lacking, but vowels do occur in utterance-final position, and thus here a three-way contrast exists. The presence or absence of /-w -y/ is sometimes hard for English speakers to detect; the offglides are far less distinct than those in English *day* and *sew*, and are often omitted in fast speech.

w/y/o:	ttow <i>spear it</i>	tto <i>to spear</i>
		ttó <i>tridacna</i>
	niiy <i>hit him</i>	nii <i>to hit</i>
	móóy <i>gray hair</i>	móó <i>swamp islet</i>
	moy <i>gnat</i>	mó <i>to disappear</i>
	kaw <i>to prod</i>	káy <i>just</i>
u/ú:	kúúw <i>louse, porpoise</i>	kú <i>to burn</i>
	pakúw <i>to cut</i>	fanú <i>land</i>

### Consonant Combinations

The term consonant combination refers herein to unlike consonants juxtaposed but in separate syllables, and contrasts with the term 'consonant cluster', referring to intrasyllable combinations of consonants, of which there are none in Puluwat. Only a few consonant combinations have been noted in Puluwat, and commonly a vowel, termed *Excrescent*, is inserted between the two, as *ekúh*, *ekúhú rak a little, just a little*. Sometimes the insertion is either a barely discernible vowel, or an onglide, as *hááréló over, as taboo*.

The intersyllabic /é/ in *yimwémám our (exclusive) house* is commonly lost, and the combination \*/-mwm-/ becomes /-mm-/: *yimmám*.

Among consonant combinations noted are the following (in addition to those in loan words, Elbert 1970).

kf:	yekiyekféngann <i>to think together</i>
np:	tayikonpék <i>fish species</i>
nf:	pwonféngann <i>to promise together</i>
nm:	yinekinmann <i>Serius</i>
nl:	fanefanló <i>patient</i>
nw:	yóónwuur <i>canoe part</i>
ngf:	yengaangféngann <i>to work together</i>
ngh:	llónghamwol <i>termite</i>
wp:	liyawpenik <i>cormorant</i>
wh:	yiwowhungetá <i>to raise</i> .



## Vowels

The vowels were diagrammed in Table 1. Vowel distribution is quite limited: neither word-initial nor next to another vowel except itself. All vowels occur word finally. All of them occur both short and long, with about the same value when lengthened and not quite twice as long, shown phonemically by doubling.

/i/ varies from quite high to a sound almost as low as i in English 'itch': the vowels in *niminim to bail* are predictably lower than the double vowels in *niim bailer*. /e/ suggests the vowel in English 'bed', and is a little lower when lengthened. /á/ suggests the vowel in English 'at'. In fast speech /á/ may be replaced by /e/, as in *payiy* and *peyiy my hand*.

/ú/ is unrounded, high, and central; a similar vowel exists in Korean. /é/ suggests, as Dyen says of Trukese, the vowel in English 'bird' without its r-sound. An English speaker sometimes confuses /ú/ and /é/, as in *ngúún soul* and *léér puffer fish*. /a/ is somewhat as in 'father', but after velarised consonants is in fast speech raised almost to /é/, as in *pwangipwang custom* or *mmwan before*.

The back vowels present fewer difficulties to the English speaker, except that /u/ is somewhat centered after velarised consonants, as in *róópwut woman*.

## Contrasts

i/e: <i>pin taboo</i>	Pen Ben
<i>yáleyál young man</i>	yáliyel <i>retreat</i>
<i>fiti to accompany</i>	fite? <i>how many?</i>
i/ú: <i>ping lattice work</i>	púng <i>to fall</i>
<i>ngit gasp</i>	ngút <i>packed</i>

(In spite of this phonemic contrast, in some words either /i/ or /ú/, or both, are heard: /fatil/ and /fatúl/ *paddle*, /fitik/ and /fitúk/ *flesh*, perhaps due to the influence of other dialects.)

i/ii: <i>yiy I</i>	yiiy <i>he</i>
<i>pwil to take off</i>	pwil <i>cast</i>
<i>ngit gasp</i>	nglit <i>cuttlefish</i>
<i>pwiiwi friend</i>	mmwii <i>pepper</i>
ii/ee: <i>yiin mother</i>	yeen <i>you</i>
	hee <i>penis</i>

e/á:	me <i>from</i> lehet <i>sea</i>	má <i>to die</i>
ee/áá:	ween <i>on</i>	háát <i>sea</i>
e/ee:	yimwey <i>my house</i> yópwutekemem <i>to dislike us</i>	ylmw eey, ylmw ee <i>this house</i> yópwuteef <i>to dislike them</i>
á/a:	má <i>death</i> yitán <i>name of</i>	ma <i>driftwood</i> yltan <i>his name</i>
áá/aa:	fáán <i>day</i>	raan <i>water</i> taa <i>intestine</i>
a/áá:	yátekklt <i>child</i>	yáát <i>child</i>
ú/u:	nú <i>coconut</i> wúf <i>dragged</i> pwúr <i>crazy</i>	mwu <i>that</i> wuf <i>full</i> pwuf <i>high tide</i>
ú/e:	ngút <i>taut</i>	
ú/úú:	wúk <i>to pound</i> wútúút <i>fire plow</i>	wúúk <i>tail</i>
úú/uu:	rúúk <i>basket</i> wúú <i>to stand</i>	ruuk <i>mountain</i> wuu <i>trap</i>
úú/éé:	rúú <i>bone</i>	réé <i>leaf</i>
é/éé:	lér <i>to ring</i> yahééhé <i>to rest</i>	léér <i>puffer fish</i>
éé/aa:	téé <i>uninhabited islet</i> méén <i>its cost</i>	taa <i>intestine</i> maan <i>animal</i>
a/ó:	ma <i>driftwood</i>	mó <i>healed</i>
a/aa:	manu húúhú <i>bird ('flying animal')</i>	maan <i>animal</i>
aa/óó:	pwaaf <i>public area</i>	pwóóf <i>box</i>
u/o:	mwu <i>that</i>	mwo <i>yet</i>

u/uu:	wuk <i>to go in the early morning</i>	wuuk <i>seine</i>
uu/oo:	wuung <i>ridgepole</i>	woong <i>turtle</i>
o/ó:	no <i>stay</i> moy <i>gnat, dwarf</i> moroló <i>blow away</i>	nó <i>wave</i> món <i>to not leak</i> móroló <i>to lower, as tide</i>
o/oo:	yop <i>break</i>	yoop <i>to hide</i>
oo/óó:	woon <i>six</i>	wóón <i>on it</i>
ó/óó:	mó <i>healed</i>	móó <i>taro plot</i>

### Notes on Stress

Stress is about even on all syllables, with these noticeable exceptions (vowels strongly stressed are capitalised; excrescent vowels with weak stress are shown with a brev):

(1) CVCV words seem stressed on the final vowels: hanA *hibiscus* flower, klyó *outrigger boom*, ylfA? *where?*, YisÓ *Esau*, ylwE *then*.

(2) Syllables beginning with h- are usually stressed: yapwahAaló *to dry out*, pahAló *to drift away*, yekúhú rak *just a little*.

(3) The excrescent vowel is weak and unstressed (except after h-). This vowel's phonemic status in reduplicated items is shown by these contrasts:

ngeŋ-ě-ngeŋ *to sew*  
ngeŋ-ĩ-ngeŋ *to gnaw*  
pwul-ă-pwul *red*  
yal-ě-yái *young man*  
yái-ĩ-yel *retreat*

The excrescent vowels are noted particularly in the following environments:

(a) In reduplicated words similar to those just listed.

(b) Between bases and suffixes, as the directional suffixes and the first person plural exclusive pronoun suffix: fanúw-ě-mám *our* (pl. exc.) land, mópw-ũ-ló *to drown*, nlik-ě-mem-ě-ló *attack us all*, yállew-ũ-ló *worse*.

(c) Between the construct form suffix -n and the initial consonant of a following word:

n + p: lúkúnĩ paliyewowuh (T3:13) *beyond the outer side*

n + k: mǎánĩ kiiiló (T3:20) *hunger death*

n + m: roonĩ maan (T3:7) *floating ripe coconuts*

n + y: wóónĩ Yáley (T3:11) *on Yáley*

núnĩ Yáley (T3:11) *Yáley coconut trees*

(d) In loan words containing consonant clusters:

s + t: Šitifen *Steven*

m + s: Samĩson *Samson*

f + k: Mafěkús *Markus*

(e) A number of words of the shape  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3$  have stress on  $V_1$  and  $V_3$  and weak stress on  $V_2$ :

TilĩmE male name

yefõmA a tree

#### Notes on Pitch and Juncture

<sup>2</sup> <sup>31</sup>  
Yi pwe ló Yáley ikena. *I'm going to Yáley today.*

<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>  
Wo pwe ló Yáley ikena? *Are you going to Yáley today?*

<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup>  
Yiwe. Wo pwe ló Yáley ikena. *So you're going to Yáley today!*

<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
Yaapw. Yiy hópw fáyito yengaang. Pwe yi pwe le Yáley ikena. *No, I'm not coming to work, because I'm going to Yáley today.*

<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
E pwe lé kitikitiló, yáneef mwéngé. (T3:3) *There was to be less --- their food.*

<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
Nng. *Uh-huh.*

<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>  
Mmm. *No.*

These transcriptions illustrate common intonation patterns. The pitch levels are /1/ lowest, /2/ mid, /3/ higher, and /4/ much higher, as for emphasis. The three terminal junctures are /. ? ,/. /. is accompanied by rapidly falling pitch from level /2/ or at level /1/. /?/ indicates rising pitch, as at level /3/. /,/ indicates suspension of pitch level, sometimes with prolongation of the last vowel, as while one thinks up what to say next. A narrative technique is for the speaker to raise all his pitch levels, keeping the same relative

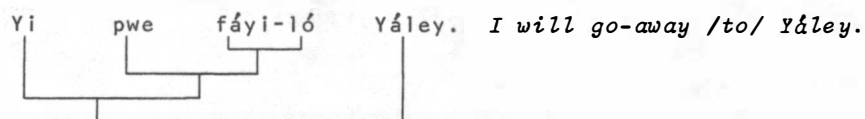
apartness, as an indication of emotional involvements, as fear in T3:19 (see also T3:59, 118, 127).

### Words, Sentences and Clauses

Word division has little if anything to do with juncture. Early in my Puluwat stay I transcribed the following, understanding little of what I wrote: O teyttá wóón Polowat, fa ten ilk róón púlas. After recognition of the morphemes, the sentence was rewritten: Wo te ylitá wóón Polowat, fa te niik róón púlas. *Don't go east to Puluwat, the drunks will hit you.*

What is the basis for word division, since juncture is unreliable as a criterion? A slight hint, as mentioned previously, is that lenis geminate consonants indicate word beginnings. No other phonetic clues have thus far been definitely spotted. The answer to the question may be in terms of independence of occurrence, and of valence - combinability with other elements in an utterance.

In the following, words are separated by spaces, and morphemes within words by hyphens:



The lines below the sentence indicate immediate constituents. The morphemes fáyi-ló, which may be isolated as a sentence word, are in construction with each other rather than with preceding or following elements. A Word, then, is an utterance that may be used alone; if used with other elements, its constituents (if more than one) stand in construction with each other, and not with preceding or following elements.

Some sentences contain single verbs or verb phrases (as the above), with or without subjects, objects, locatives, etc. These are Simple Sentences. Another type of simple sentence is without verbs, and consists of one or more nouns or noun phrases:

Ngaang, sense. *I /am a/ teacher.*

This is called an Equational Sentence. Simple sentences contain single clauses.

Complex Sentences seem made up of more than one simple sentence. Each simple sentence is separated by /,/. Each constituent simple sentence is called a Clause.

## 2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Dyen uses the term *sandhi* alternations with reference to the alternations of words in connected speech, and adds that in Trukese they occur only in close phrasing. In this work the term *morphophonemics* is used to describe the joining of words and bound morphemes in sequence, as some of the alternations occur in both deliberate and fast speech, and the discussion here moves from petrified forms to types of assimilation that vary for a single speaker.

## Reductions

(1)  $C_1 + C_1C_1 \rightarrow C_1C_1$ : yaay ra(k) kkin *just my guess*. (This happens to all possible geminate trios except the negative mmm.)

(2)  $C_1 + C_2 \rightarrow \emptyset + C_2$ : yeew ra(k) weewe *same meaning*, róó(n) kkéwe *the people*.

(3)  $C_1 + C_2 \rightarrow C_1 + \emptyset$ : nowumw we yat  $\rightarrow$  nowumwe yát (Pis) *the child of yours*.

(4)  $VC + C \rightarrow \emptyset + C$ : heey(ik) me limoow *fifteen*

## Assimilatory replacements

(5)  $l + n \rightarrow nn$ : wol- man + -na *there*  $\rightarrow$  won-na *the man there*.  
(Compare wol-owe *the man*.)

(6)  $l, n + t \rightarrow tt$ : fatúl *paddle* + -to *this way*  $\rightarrow$  fatút-to *paddle this way*; fatúl + -tiw *west*  $\rightarrow$  fatút-tiw *paddle west*. (Compare fatúl-ló *paddle away*.) yihól *to leave* + -to  $\rightarrow$  hihót-to *leave here*. (Compare yihól-ló *leave there*.) yihon *to keep* + -to  $\rightarrow$  yihót-to *to give (hither)*.

(7)  $n + l \rightarrow ll$ : mwáán-e-n *man of* + lap *big*  $\rightarrow$  mwáán-e-l-lap (T1:62) *old man*. (Compare mwáán-e-n Polowat *man of Puluwat*.)

(8)  $C_1 + C_2 \rightarrow C_2 + C_2$  (except pw + pw  $\rightarrow$  ppw, mw + mw  $\rightarrow$  mmw).  
yiwe rak ngé  $\rightarrow$  yiwe rang ngé (T1:179) *well then*. yi pwal  $\rightarrow$  yipw pwal  
 $\rightarrow$  yip pwal (T3:79) *I, too*. yimw + mám  $\rightarrow$  yimmám *our (exclusive) house*.

(9)  $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_1 + V_1$  (or a phonetically similar V). wo há mwerán  
 $\rightarrow$  wo ho mwerán *don't you want*. yeen ow ufa  $\rightarrow$  yeen o ofa *you say*.  
yó- + kuhaaló  $\rightarrow$  yó kohaalo *to discharge*. ló + wukkuf  $\rightarrow$  ló wokkuf *go strolling*. wow + angeey  $\rightarrow$  wow ongeey *you take*.

(10)  $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2$  (or a phonetically similar V) +  $V_2$ . wo te yataaló  
 $\rightarrow$  wo ta 'ataaló *don't destroy him*. feepwollap  $\rightarrow$  foopwollap *Pulap person*. fa pwe wuwaaló  $\rightarrow$  fa pwo wuwaaló *they will take away*. le wutt  
 $\rightarrow$  lo wutt *in the boathouse*.

(11)  $C_1 + C_1 \rightarrow C_1 + y$ : hi há  $\rightarrow$  hi yá *we have not*.

### Fast Speech

In fast speech, long vowels may be shortened. Yi há kúleey *I don't know* may be yi há kúley; kiliy *to cut it* may become homophonous with kiliy *coconut-leaf mat*.

Final -y's are lost in fast speech, and á may be raised to e or centered to a: náyiy *my son* and páyiy *my hand* may become neyi and peyi. fáyito *come* and fáyiló *go* may be fayito and fayiló.

## 3. UNITS IN THE GRAMMAR

For a preliminary understanding of the grammar and its arrangement, certain definitions are helpful. Previously, efforts were made to define sentences in terms of terminal junctures and words in terms of ability to stand alone. In this section, a few technical terms will be defined.

Words may be classified in two ways. The largest category, full words, is open-ended; the inventory is finite and is constantly subject to augmentation and depletion. Full words fill certain positional slots; most of them are inflected. In discussion of inflections it is convenient to speak of bases or full words without affixes. A second smaller group of words consists of substitutes for full words (usually nouns). These may be listed exhaustively and include pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and relatives.

Both types of words, full words and substitutes, occur in constructions with particles, another group that does not inflect, whose members may be exhaustively listed, and that never occur alone and always modify one or more words. It is necessary to distinguish affixes from particles, since both occur with full words (affixes, also, may be exhaustively listed).

The best criterion for distinguishing particles from affixes is relative cohesion. Particles are loosely bound, and affixes are closely bound. Particles may be separated from their heads by terminal junctures or by hesitations (marked ---), whereas affixes in normal speech are never so separated. The following examples of terminal

junctures and hesitations intervening between particle and head are from T3:3-15. The particles are capitalised.

Pwa A --- mwéewuló mááy. *Because the breadfruit had --- completely disappeared.*

Ra a yetto no meheeyo no LLÓN, Woleyááley. *They all went to stay on, Woleyááley.*

uway MÉ --- heeyik áfln *carried off --- ten piles of, ten.*

This is to say that native speakers of Puluwat 'feel' that affixes are closely bound to their heads, and if they stop talking and think, they almost never stop between head and affix, but frequently stop between particle and head.

Another difference between particle and affix is that the number of particles modifying a head may be easily increased; such easy in-and-out of affixes is rare. The following Puluwat sentences illustrate the ease with which verb phrases are expanded by piling up of particles:

Yi pwe fáyiló. *I'm going.*

Yi pwe LE fáyiló. *I'll go immediately.*

Yi pwe LE FAKKON fáyiló. *I'll certainly go immediately.*

Yi pwe LE PWAKIN FAKKON fáyiló RAK. *I'll most certainly just go immediately.*

The construction fáyiló *go* contains a bound base, fáy-, a stem vowel -i-, and a suffix -ló, but is not further expandable.

A third difference is that a particle may form a construction with more than one base: Ya fakkon wétin imwáy hoomá mwo minneey... (T3:20). *Even if this really is the house of a ghost... (Wétin ... mwo is a discontinuous particle with two bases intervening.)*

Certain strings of bases are called compounds. Such strings are inflected like single bases. Thus róón *person* plus yllmw *house* compounded becomes róón-lmw *wife*, and one may say róón-lmw-á-y *my wife*, róón-lmw-ó-mw *your wife*, etc. The same compound plus the causative prefix (ya-róón-lmw) becomes a verb *to arrange a marriage*.

Compound and base-plus-qualifier are also distinguished on the basis of meaning and divisibility. From meaning of the parts, one would not know that róón iimw *house person* meant *wife*. Or the sequence ngii lap means *large tooth*, but the compound ngii lap is the name of a kind of shark. The members of this compound are not separable with the same meaning. If one says yelap ngii we the meaning is *the tooth is big*, and we are not talking of the kind of shark. Le-het is literally in *the sea* but may be used as a verb with a different meaning *to go fishing*.

A distinction sometimes made between full words and particles is that full words have 'lexical' meaning, and particles have 'grammatical'



meaning. A distinction between 'lexical' and 'grammatical' meaning is at best blurry. In Puluwat, particles and affixes have what appear to be both types of meanings. Ngaang *I* in Puluwat is a non-inflected word, whereas -á-y, *me* is an affix containing two morphemes. Pwa! *also* is a particle with 'lexical' meaning, and ya, perfective, also a particle, has 'grammatical' meaning. -fetál *everywhere*, is an affix with 'lexical' meaning.

Nouns and verbs are defined on the basis of (1) type of inflection, and (2) environment. The last is the most important, as not all verbs inflect. We may say that verbs are full words that may follow certain particles, and that some of them inflect and form derivatives. Verbs constitute the head or nucleus of verb phrases. The modifying particles constitute the periphery of the verb phrase.

Verbs may be subdivided as follows. (Classes 1 and 2 are open-ended. Class 3 is closed, and the members may be listed exhaustively.)

1. Verbs taking pronoun object suffixes (transitive verbs): woreey-áy-ló *eat me up*.

2. Intransitive verbs, as of going, desire, ability, often followed directly by other verbs: fáy-i-to mwéngé *come and eat*, mwer-á-n mwéngé *want to eat*.

3. Verbs with limited distributions: impersonal verbs - a term suggested by Hiroshi Sugita. Most such verbs may be preceded by verb markers, but by no subject pronouns except *ye*, third singular: wóf *to be*, *to have*, haaf *to be none*, yifa *to be how*, fah *to happen*, yiwe *to finish*.

Nouns are full words that form construct forms (a type of inflection), follow prepositions, and are preceded and followed by demonstratives. They constitute the head or nucleus of noun phrases, and the modifying words and particles constitute the periphery of the noun phrase.

Full words occurring in both environments are called verb-nouns. This is probably the largest group in the language. Most words classified as N in the *Dictionary* can in unusual circumstances be used as verbs. In discussing witchcraft one might say *I will become a breadfruit* (Yi pwe mááy), but one would hear such a remark very seldom, or never, and hence such words as breadfruit are classified N in the *Dictionary*.

A small but highly recurrent group consists of inflected words that introduce noun phrases. These are called preposition-nouns (those taking noun inflections) and preposition-verbs (those taking verb inflections). Those prepositions that are not inflected are considered particles.

The particles are classed as manner particles, prepositions (those that do not inflect), verb-markers, conjunctions, and interjections.

The larger units in which phrases occur are called clauses. They are of two types: clauses with verbs: *yi/pwe ló I will go* and verbless or equational clauses: *ngang/yeray sense I /am/ a teacher*.

A convention followed throughout the grammar is that phonemes that vary in morphemes containing more than two allomorphs are capitalised.

#### 4. SUBSTITUTES: PRONOUNS

##### Independent and Subject Pronouns

The pronouns are of three types, independent pronouns, subject pronouns, and polite vocatives. They differ in distribution. The independent pronouns are used alone, precede nouns or noun phrases in equational sentences, precede the subject pronouns, or precede the preposition *me with, and*. Rarely, they follow verbs as complements or objects. In the following, *yiif*, *een*, and *ngaang* are independent pronouns, and *fe* is a subject pronoun.

*Yiif fe há tiitiy een; fe há tiitiy ngaang.*  
*they they not invite you they not invite me*

*(As-for-them, they have not invited you; they have not invited me.)*

The subject pronouns, having no such variable distributions, always precede verbs, frequently with intervening particles, and they never occur as objects. (Objects are shown by pronoun suffixes to verbs, or by prepositions.)

The third type of pronoun, the polite vocatives, is discussed at the end of this section.

The seven positions in which independent and subject pronouns occur are first person singular (1s), 2s, 3s, first person plural inclusive (1p inc), first person plural exclusive (1p exc), 2p, and 3p.

The semantic components of the pronouns listed below form binary oppositions: minimal/nonminimal ( $M/\bar{M}$ ), speaker included/speaker excluded ( $S/\bar{S}$ ), hearer included/hearer excluded ( $H/\bar{H}$ ). (This analysis has been influenced by Buchler 1967.)

	Independent Pronoun	Subject Pronoun	Components
1s	ngaang, nga	yiy, wu	MSH
2s	yeen	wo	M̄SH
3s	yily	ye, ya	M̄SH (also M̄SH)
1p inc	kiir	hi, hay	M̄SH
1p exc	yæmem	yæy	M̄SH
2p	yæami	yaw, yow	M̄SH
3p	yilí	fe, fa	M̄SH

Independent pronouns at the beginnings of utterances seem to be in focus:

Ngaang, yi pwe le fáy-i-ló.  
I I will soon go-away

Perhaps comparable is French moi, je vais aller.

All the pronouns have animate antecedents. The third singular subject pronouns alone have inanimate antecedents:

Yaw pwe ló pilpiy waa na yafe ye pwe máá nganekir (Tl:33). Go  
 look at that canoe if it will cause out death.

Most (but not all) of the vowel changes in the subject pronouns in the table are due to assimilations and blendings with vowels in following elements:

1s. yiy + wúfa → wú úfa I said

2s. wo + ya + ló → wó ó ló you went

3s. ye + ya + ló → ya a ló he went

1p inc. hi + ya + úfa → húfa he said

hi + ya + mwéngé → ha a mwéngé let's eat

2p. yaw + yitto → yó yitto give me

3p. fe + ya + fáyiló → fa a fáyiló they went

Initial /y-/ and /w-/ are deleted after consonants. Glides do not occur doubled or before other consonants, and by convention, the first is omitted in the writing. The diphthongs ay and aw, however, retain -y and -w even before consonants. Thus \*yiy ya pwoh is written /yi ya pwoh/ I am lonely. The spaces between the words indicate word boundaries, not phonological ones.

## Other examples

The following sentences illustrate the use of independent pronouns in equational sentences (they have no verbs) and in simple sentences. In such sentences the independent pronoun may be omitted but not the subject pronoun. An independent pronoun is not followed directly by a verb phrase.

## First singular:

Ngaang, Yooci. *I'm Yooci.*

Ngaang me Pen. *Ben and I.*

Ngaang, yeray róópwt. *I'm a woman.*

Ngaang, wú uwóuw roo. *I'm carrying copra out.*

Nga yl há kúleey. *I don't know.* (Nga seems limited to fast speech, as in T4:39.)

Ngaang een, hi pwe tipáyeewféngann. *(You and I will agree.)*  
*I you we will agree*

## Second singular:

Yeen, Pen. *You are Ben.*

Yeen, yeray róópwt. *You're a woman.*

Wo le ló. *You go.* (This is the most common farewell to one person leaving.)

In deferential speech, the 3s subject pronouns are often heard instead of 2s: Pen, ye pwe le fáyló? *Is Ben going?* This is common polite way of asking Ben if he is going; such circumlocution might possibly be due to the influence of Japanese.

## Third singular:

Yily, Pen. *He is Ben.*

Yily, Yilaf. *She is Yilaf.*

Yily, yeray át. *He's a boy.*

Yily, ye pwe le fáyló. *He's going.*

Yil ya a fáyló. *He went.*

Ye firifir. *It's good.*

Pen e mwar iiy le yengaang. *Ben is himself late in work.*

Tiyy imw ana, ye te toolong malúk llón. *Close up that house, so chickens don't enter. ("close house that, it not enter chicken inside")*

First person inclusive:

Kiir róón wayilé. *We (including addressee) are fishermen.*

Kiir, hi pwe ló. *We're going (all of us, including addressee).*

Kiir, hay pwe ló. *We're going.*

Hay aa ló. *We went.* (Hay is less common than hi: see T1:132, T3:75.)

Ha a mwéngé. *Let's eat.* (The allomorph ha occurs only before perfective ya with exhortative meaning.)

First person exclusive:

Yáámem róón wayilé. *We (but not addressee) are fishermen.*

Yáámem, yáy a fáyiló. *We went.*

In the last sentence, yáámem, is commonly expanded as follows:

Ngaang me	Pen,	}	yáy a fáyiló.
I	with Ben		
Yáámem me	fuweray,	}	
we-exc. with	two-human		
Yaamem me	róónimwáy,	}	
we-exc. with	my-wife		

The translations of the three sentences are *Ben and I went. Two of us went. My wife and I went.*

The inclusive/exclusive distinction is clearly shown in the legends. In T4 Steven (S) uses the exclusive yáy as long as he is talking to Yokici (Y) about what he and the priest are doing, but Y. in T4:18 uses the inclusive (hi kan filetiy *we (everyone) ordinarily cranks it*). In T3:75 we learn that the youngest wife wishes to join forces with Nefátikimwo and the chief's son when she says hay pwe lee wumu yán-an-i hamwol-i woot *we (all of us) better cook Colocasia taro for the chief's food*. Thus we learn by the exclusive hay that she is deserting her co-wives and joining forces with their rival.

Second person plural:

Yáámi, róón wayilé. *You are fishermen.*

Yáámi, yaw pwe ló. *You are going.*

Yaw le ló. *You are going.* (This is a common farewell to persons leaving.)

Yáámi me Pen, yaw a fakkoy tipacem. *You and Ben are very smart.* (In this sentence, yáámi is expanded.)

Third person plural:

Yiif, róón wayilé. *They are fishermen.*

Yiif, fa pwe ló. *They are going.*

Áa a ló. *They went.*

Áa pwe le fáyiló yíif. *They are themselves going.* (Áa is used before pwe and ya, perfective; fe, elsewhere. (See T1:24, T3:115.)

The common sequence is (1) independent pronoun + (2) subject pronoun + (3) verb phrase, but occasionally the order is 2 + 3 + 1 or 1 + 2 + 3 + 1 or even 3 + 1:

<sup>1</sup> Ngaang, <sup>2</sup> yí <sup>3</sup> ya fáyiló; <sup>2</sup> yí <sup>3</sup> ya fáyiló <sup>1</sup> ngaang; <sup>1</sup> ngaang, <sup>2</sup> yí <sup>3</sup> ya fáyiló <sup>1</sup> ngaang.  
*I went.*

<sup>2</sup> Yiwee, <sup>3</sup> fa a <sup>1</sup> hefák iif. *Then they sailed.*

<sup>2</sup> Yii <sup>3</sup> ya mwéngé; <sup>3</sup> ya a <sup>1</sup> mwéngé iiy. *He ate.*

The independent pronoun is thus either at the beginning or end of the sentence and is probably in focus in either position. It may be omitted in any of the above sentences.

#### Polite vocative pronouns

Environments of the polite vocatives follow:

	Before proper names, 'person'	Clause- final
To a male or males	ko	wo ko keen fewe
To a female or females:	ne	ne
To males or females:	keen (T2:76)	kæami (T3:98)

Historically, ko and wo are probably related to wow, wo *you* (pl., subject pronoun), keen to yeen *you* (independent pronoun), and kæam! to yæami *you* (pl., independent pronoun). Wo or o are honorific only at the ends of clauses. The frequent replacement in many words of k- by y- or w- was discussed in section 1.

When the polite vocatives are followed by proper names of persons they may be translated Mr, Miss, or Mrs. In utterance-final position, translation of these vocatives is difficult. In my dialect of English, Mr, Miss, Lady, or Mrs without a following proper name are substandard, as is Ma'am. The terms Sir and Madame are far too formal in my dialect ("Sir" left it as I left the Navy) as translations for these terms heard hundreds of times every day on Puluwat (far more than is indicated in the texts), but are nevertheless used herein in view of the lack of weaker terms that can be used without proper names.

## Examples

Meeta wo wúfa ko Siti wó? *What did you say, Mr Steve?*

Ááan állim o! *Good morning /or good afternoon, good evening/, Sir.*

Wo pwe ló yiyé wo? Wo pwe ló yiyé ko? *Where are you going, Sir?*

Yi pwe le lo okkuf o. *I'm going walking, Sir.*

Ráán állim ne! *Hello, Madame!*

Ráán állim ne Yineh! *Hello, Miss Ines!*

Ye ne Yineh! *Miss Ines!*

Meeta mwo wo pwe le pwai féfiy ko yefemah? *What are you also going to do, Sir? (ko yefemah you-polite-to-male person).*

Yátewe a nii ko keen. *The boy hit you, Sir.*

Siipw e pwe le hoow ikena, káám! *Sirs, the ship is leaving today!*

Wo pwe wétiyáy mwo keen olee (T3:78). *Please wait for me, Sir!*

Yifa náyiy mooniy fewe Pen? *Where's my money, Mr Ben?*

Ráán állim fewe! *Hello, Sir!*

Yifa waa we waay fewe? *Sir, where's my canoe?*

Yee ko, fáylto. *Say, Sir, come here.*

Ye ne Mineko. *Say, Miss Mineko.*

Ya a feyito Toni ne (Pis). *Tony's come, Madame.*

In the texts, the polite vocatives are much rarer, probably, than in daily life. In T1:50, Rongo-rik is greeted *ááan állim o good day, Sir*, just as I was many times every day. In T1:163 Rongo-rik suddenly addresses his enemy as *keen Wuung Mr Wuung*, and in T1:164 Wuung responds *keen Rongo-rik*. In T2:76 the older brother addresses the younger one as *keen Mengáf*. In T3:104, a lady is addressed *Yiwe ne well, lady* and a man as *een keen you, Sir*. Steven in T4:4 addresses his friend as *keen on-na-h you, Sir, there*.

## 5. SUBSTITUTES: DEMONSTRATIVES

From the viewpoints of morphology, syntax, and semantics, the demonstratives are among the most complex features of the language. All except members of the Ø-set are made up of two, three or four bound forms; none of them contain bases. Some are verbs, some are conjunctions and members of conjunction sequences, and some are interjections. Some of them substitute for nouns and independent pronouns, and some of them, like relatives, introduce coordinate and subordinate clauses. Their meanings are spatial, temporal, similitude, causal, and relative, and many occur in idioms with meanings impossible to deduce from literal translations of the constituents. Many of the semantic nuances are not usually expressed in English. They are used with a repetitiousness unbearable in literal English translation.

How can such heterogeneous words be classed as a single part of speech? The answer is that they share certain morphemes, and all words containing these morphemes are classed as demonstratives. The diagnostic morphemes are the final ones (see table 2). They may be termed **proximity suffixes**, as they indicate relative proximities in space and time. The vertical columns in table 2 are set up in terms of these morphemes, with the nearest in time and space to the speaker at the left, and thence to the right with increasing distance. Glosses for these morphemes follow. (I am indebted to Byron Bender for suggestions as to the probable relationship of the proximity suffixes and the attributive suffixes.)



	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
	<u>yee(y)</u>	<u>yeen, kaan</u>	<u>(o)mwu</u>	<u>y(A)na(an)</u>	<u>yEwe</u>
(1) Ø-set:	yee(y)	yeen	(o)mwu(un)	yEna(an)	we
	yiiy	yiin			Yewe
	wúúw	wúún			Yúwe
	wuww	wuun			Yuŵe
		kaan			Yawe
	yily				Yéwe
(2) yi-set:	yi-yee(y)	yi-ye(en)	yi-mwu	yi-na(an)	yi-we
(3) yi-k-set:	yi-k-ee(y)	yi-ka(an)	yi-k-omwu(un)	yi-k-ana(an) yi-k-ena(an)	yi-k-éwe ye-k-éwe
(4) kk-set:	kk-eeey	kk-a(an)	kk-omwu(un)	kk-ena	kké-we
(5) yi-kk-set:	yi-kk-eeey	yi-kk-a(an)	yi-kk-omwu	yi-kk-ena(an) ye-kk-ana(an)	yi-kk-éwe ye-kk-éwe
(6) min(ne)-set:	minn-e(ey)	minn-eeen	min-omwu(um)	min-na(an)	min-ewe minne-ewe
	minne-kk-eeey	minne-kk-a	mine-kk-omw	mine-kk-ana	mine-kk-éwe
(7) man(e)-set:	man-e(ey)	man-e(en)	man-omwu	man-na(an)	man-úwe
	man-úúw	man-úún			
	mane-kk-eeey	man-ú-kk-a	mane-kk-omwu	mane-kk-anan	mane-kk-éwe
(8) yát(E)-set:	yát-eeey	yát-eeen	yát-omwu	yát-ena(an)	yát-éwe
	yáte-kk-eeey	yáti-kk-an	yáti-kk-omwu	yátá-kk-ena(an)	yáte-kk-éwe
(9) wol(0)-set:	wol-eeey	wol-eeen		won-na(an)	wol-owe
	wole-kk-eeey	wole-kk-a	wole-kk-omwu(un)	wole-kk-ana	wolo-kk-éwe
(10) liy(e)-set:	liy-eeey	liy-eeen	liy-omwu	liy-enan	liy-ewe, liwe
	liye-kk-eeey	liye-kk-a	liye-kk-omwu	liye-kk-ana	liye-kk-ewe

TABLE 2: DEMONSTRATIVES

(a) yee(y): very near the speaker, present time; this morpheme is probably related to the first person singular attributive suffix -ey and -áy.

(b) yeen, kaan: quite near the speaker, present time; probably related to the third singular attributive suffix -n.

(c) (o)mwu: very near the addressee; probably related to the second person singular attributive suffix -mw.

(d) y(A)na(an): far, future time; probably also related to the third singular attributive suffix -n.

(e) yEwe: invisible, past time, afore-mentioned.

No great semantic differences have been noted between members of columns (a) and (b). Yimw eey and yimw iin are usually both translated *this house*. There may be free variation also between columns (b) and (d). In T<sup>4</sup>, a conversation between two young men who did not change positions during the recording, Steven addressed his friend in verse 4 as on-na-h (9d on table 2 + -h) *you male way over there* and in verse 37 as wol-een (9b) *you male here*.

The numbered horizontal rows are sets, and are named for the morpheme or morphemes that precede the proximity morphemes. Among the translations are *this*, *here* for some of the entries in columns (a) and (b), *that*, *there* for some of the entries in columns (c) and (d), and *the*, *the afore-mentioned* for some of the entries in column (e).

The bound initial morphemes for which sets 2-10 are named do have meanings:

2. Yi + proximity morphemes: location, time, similitude, causality.
3. yi + k: location, time, causality.
4. kk: plurality of modified elements.
5. yi + kk: plural modified elements, location.
6. min(ne): inanimates.
7. man(e): animates.
8. yát(E): male human.
9. wol(0): male human.
10. liy(e): female human.

Many of the demonstratives follow nouns. These are clitics and are pronounced as though part of the modified head. Yimwey *my house* and yimw eey *this house* differ only in vowel length.

A Pis informant in Honolulu makes this contrast:

(a) *róón + kkúwe wa the people of the canoe ('people-of + the (pl.) canoe').*

(b) *róó kkéwe + nowumw the people your children ('people the (pl.) + your-child').* In (b), *róón kkéwe* becomes *róó kkéwe* in accordance to morphophonemic rule 2 (section 2), a hint of a phonologically determined unit.

If these are clitics, one might ask, why are they not considered suffixes to nouns? The answer is that they are not closely bound to the bases they modify, they often precede nouns (especially in the Namonuito dialect), many substitute for nouns, and they may modify other demonstratives, as:

(5e)	(5d)
mwaan e-kk-éwe	yi-kk-ana
man the-previously-	there (far)
mentioned-plural	
the gentlemen over there	

(8e)	(1d)
haman á-t-ewe na	
his-father the-boy that	
that boy's father	

In addition to the forms on the table, are the intensifying demonstratives -Eh (suffixed to nouns) and -h (suffixed to most of the demonstratives in the table ending in vowels). This suffix at times carries a nuance of mild scorn or anger, as of a woman annoyed by children: *yi-ka-h* (3b) *out here*, *kk-a-h* (4b) *over there*, *yi-mwu-h* (2c) *right there by you*, *yefemah eh that person*. (See T3:13, 109; T4:22.) Informants say that this contrast exists: *Yi pwe le fáyiló yi-k-ena. I'll go today. Yi pwe le fáyiló yi-k-ena-h. I'll go over there. -Vh* has been noted suffixed to directionals:

*hoolong-eh to be or move quite inside*  
*hootáy-eh to be or move up or east*  
*hootiw-eh to be or move down or west*  
*hoowow-uh to be or move quite outside*  
*paliyewow-uh far outer side*

Words followed by demonstratives are usually in fast speech in an altered shape, if such exists. Thus, *yilmw, yilmw eey house, this house; yáát, yáteey boy, this boy; wa, waa we canoe, the canoe.*

The statement was made earlier that many demonstratives do not have bases. Sets 7 and 8, however, do have bases:

man, animate objects < maan *living creature*

yát, human male < yáát *boy, child*

Should not, then, forms in these sets be considered as base + Ø-set demonstrative and be written man eey, yát eey, etc? From the non-linguistic intuitive standpoint, yáteey in one word is more 'convenient' and 'natural'. The best linguistic justification for non-segmentation is probably the frequent function of these words as substitutes for nouns, as illustrated in later sections.

The ubiquity of demonstratives is evident in the following verbatim conversations from T2:21-3. The eight demonstratives and their literal and free translations are capitalised.

... ye kán féffér aneef <sup>9e</sup> OLO-KK-ÉWE mwéngé.  
*is just preparing their-food THE-MEN eating*  
 ... who was preparing food for THE MEN to eat.

Finn EWE yíneef, a yayitáyiteefitlw feen  
<sup>le</sup>  
*woman THE their-mother did distribute it*  
 THE woman, their mother distributed

Ily mweyel <sup>la</sup> KK-ÉWE yaaf. Yiwe fa a kán,  
 THIS helmet shell THE-PL. their then they did just  
 SOME helmet shells for them. Then they

WOLO-KK-ÉWE ra a yayek, 'Yá láámea? MIN-EN meeta  
<sup>9e</sup> <sup>6b</sup>  
 THE-MEN they did ask, whose? WHAT what  
 THE MEN, they asked, 'Whose? WHAT

KK-OMWU wó kán fééf? 'Yaneef mwáán E-KK-ANÁ náyi.'  
<sup>4c</sup> <sup>5d</sup>  
 THERE you just make their-food man THOSE my-son  
 is that THERE you are making? 'My son's food.'

## 6. SUBSTITUTES: INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES

### Interrogatives

Words neither inflected nor capable of forming derivatives and commonly used in questions (these usually terminate in /?/) are called interrogatives. Not all question words are so classed. Fit- *how many* takes numeral classifiers and is classed with other numerals in section

17. Another word most commonly heard in questions is *tefán relationship*, of *what relationship*, but this is inflected (N7) and is a noun.

All the interrogatives listed here are common. Many begin *yi-*, many occur at the beginning of sentences, and some at the end.

matta *what?*

The references here are to fauna (*maan*).

Yike matta na? *What fish is that?*

Yáte matta na, róópwt afe mwáán? *What is that child, girl or boy?*

Matta minna? *What's that /as a bird/?*

meeta

Glosses: *what, which, why, what about, what for?*

Meeta yee? Pinsél. *What is this? Pencil.*

Yiik meeta wo fakkon mwonn? *Which fish do you very much like?*

Pinsél iin, meeta na? *Of what use is this pencil?*

Meeta lepán? *How many? How much?*

Hi há kúleey meeta hi pwe fériy. *We don't know what we'll do.*

Pwale meeta we (T2:58)? *What's it also about?*

meet --- feen, meet --- ngani: Meeta ya fáyito feewóón feen? *Why have foreigners come? Meeta minne ya fakkon mwar ngani (T1:45)? Why is he so late? Nge feen meeta (T3:105). That's all right; it doesn't matter.*

pwopwota, pwéta *why, why not?, because*

Yi hópw ló! Pwopwota? *I'm not going! Why not?*

Pwopwota often occurs as a complete utterance, as in the above and in T3:90. The Pis term is *pwéta*: Meet omw mmang pwéta? *Pwéta yi ya mwénge. Why are you late? Because I ate.* In the last sentence, *pwéta* is a subordinating conjunction, as *pwopwota* is in T3:83. *Pwéta* is sometimes heard on Puluwat.

yifa, faa, and yikkafa

Glosses: *what, which, where?*

(Some of the meanings are idiomatic: a foreigner knowing the glosses of the constituents would not understand the whole.)

Yifa yitómw? *What is your name?*

Yifa hún? *What's it like?*

Yifa leyilíf e firifiir? *Which of them is best?*

Yifa wo mwefan? *Which do you want?*

Yifa yimwómw? *Which is your house? Where is your house?*

Yafe yifa? Yifa yiyee? *Is it so? Isn't it?*

Wuwaha waa faa? *Which canoe load?*

Yike faa wo mwonn? *Which fish do you like /most/?*

Yikkafa has the same meanings but occurs with plural antecedents.  
Wuwaato náiyi tófpwe kkéwe. Yikkafa? Yikkomwu. *Bring my papers.*  
*From where; which? There (by you).*

Yikkafa fa a noono iya? *Where are they staying?*

yineet when?

Yineet e pwe fáyito? *When is he coming?*

Yineet is also used as a conjunction: Yi há kúleey ineet e pwe fáyito. *I don't know when he's coming.*

yiya, yiye where?

Yiya occurs before a terminal juncture, or before a demonstrative or vocative followed by a terminal juncture:

Before a terminal juncture:

Wo pwe ló yiya? *Where are you going?*

Wo fáyito me yiya? *Where have you come from?*

Ya a yitto fáyinli liwe yineef me fáán pofow we ye noono yiye (T2:77).  
*He came to call the lady their mother from under the sandstone where she lived.*

Before a demonstrative or vocative and a terminal juncture:

Finn iya na? *Where is that lady from?*

Ppukon iya kkaan? *Where are those books from?*

Wo pwe ló yiya ko? *Where are you going, Sir?*

A construction using two forms is yiya + subject pronoun + verb + yiye: Yiya yi pwe móót iye? *Where shall I sit?*

yiye

Glosses: *who, whom, whose?*

The common positions are at the beginning or end of phrases and clauses.

Yiyé ya fáyito? *Who came?*

Yiyé na yaw a hoonga? *Whom are you teasing?*

Yaaf Pen me yiyé? *Ben's and who else's?*

Nawún iyé, pinsél iin? *Whose pencil is this?*

Ppukon iyé, yeen? *Whose is this book?*

## Relatives

Relatives are non-inflected words that serve as subjects of subordinate clauses that begin with the third singular subject pronoun *ye*.

*yera* *one (animate)*

*Ye wóf eray e mwerán fáyito? Is there anyone who wants to come?*

*ne* *who, which*

*Ye haaf mwo mwáán ne e pwe wúfa ... (T2:33)? Is there anyone else who would say ...?*

*Ye haaf fanú nee yaw pwe tá wóón. There is no land which you will fit on.*

Also, T1:64.

*ye* *the one who or which*

*Ya mawúfló we ye kitikit. The one who was small slept.*

*Ya fáyito we ye yarooro le yengaang. The one who works hard came.*

*Hótto minnewe ye kitikit. Give me the little one (inanimate).*

*Hótto we ye nngaw faaf. Give me the worst of them.*

*Yiya leyin ekkeey iimw e fe no llón (Ulul dialect)? Which of these houses is the one they live in?*

*Yi wefiy emen át e ffale wa (Ulul dialect). I see a man making a canoe.*

## 7. ATTRIBUTIVE SUFFIXES

### Segmentation

One of the conspicuous features of Carolinian languages is the use of suffixes indicating possession, called by Dyen attributive suffixes. Dyen treated many of these forms as trimorphemic, and segmented *my vehicle* as (in the present orthography)

wa - á - y  
1    2    3

with *wa-* as the stem, *-á-* a stem vowel, and *-y* the first singular possessive suffix and an attributive suffix. Later analysts of Trukese and other Micronesian languages have reconstructed hypothetical stems

from which one may by complicated rules generate all the stem vowels and attributive suffixes. Dyen's old-fashioned procedure seems clearer and less contrived and has been followed here.

The forms taking attributive suffixes are called inalienable by Dyen. Many of them are of anatomical or of kinship terms, and ten of them are prepositions. Other nouns, called alienable, follow possessive classifiers, as

náy-i-y át *my son ('my-child boy')*

ham-a-r hamwol *our chief ('our-inc-father chief')*

yán-á-y mwéngé *my-cooked food*

wúnún-á-y nú *my-drinking coconut*

The possessive classifiers are discussed in section 10.

Informants respond glibly when asked for inflected derivatives of bases, but considerable oscillation exists in the forms for unusual words. For example, the informant recited the paradigm for ttupw *food contribution* as belonging to paradigm N10, in which the stem vowel is o except for ee in the third plural (table 4), although earlier I had taped and recorded (T3:112) ttupw-e-mám (1pl exc), ttupw-e-y (construct form), and ttupw-o-y (1s). These would belong respectively to what I later classified (table 4) as N6(é), N5, and N10.

With many nouns, possessive suffixes are, in theory, acceptable, but actually are rarely heard. Often my informant recited paradigms for nouns, as town-ó-mw (N2) *mosquito net*, and then, when asked for illustrative sentences, used the general possessive classifier ya-, rather than the inalienable possessive forms he had just produced. The implication is that although the possessive suffixes are theoretically acceptable, use of possessive classifiers is more common, especially for names of artifacts. Perhaps only kinship and anatomical terms take possessive suffixes *de rigueur*.

The important conclusion is that for forms rarely taking attributive suffixes, one may not be very sure as to which the informant will say at a given moment.

In the following sections the three slots found in possessives are for the sake of readability discussed not in the order in which they occur in a word, but in the order of increasing complexity, that is attributive suffixes, stem vowels, and alternations of bases.

The abbreviations are the same as those listed for pronouns, with the addition of cf. as an abbreviation for construct form.

The system proposed here is based on a "wasteful" positing of 13 numbered paradigms, but in compensation is thought to be relatively easy for a dictionary user to understand.



1s	-y, -yi	1p inc	-r
		1p exc	-mám, -mem
2s	-mw	2p	-mi
3s	-n, -y	3p	-í
cf.	-n, -y, -i		

TABLE 3: ATTRIBUTIVE SUFFIX FORMS

Third singular -n and -y are in free variation, with perhaps -y more common in connected discourse, but -n more so in citation forms. (-n may be omitted before a word beginning with n-, as

naw-ú náy-i-y    my son's son)  
son-of my-son

The form most commonly heard is given in the *Dictionary*, not both.

The allomorph -i is only in the construct form: the preceding stem vowel is then also -i-:

pac thunder            pac-i-i lopwong last night's thunder

péén flesh            peen-i-i roo coconut flesh

tuuk sack            tuk-i-i fayis sack of rice (also tuk-ú-n fayis)

wumw cluster        wumw-i-i nú cluster of green coconuts

The term 'plural' in the table refers to the possessors, not to the possessed objects. The plurality of the latter is usually not overtly expressed and is learned from context. Thus, fanúw-ee-f *their land(s)* and háling-ee-f *their ears*.

The inclusive/exclusive distinction in the pronouns was discussed in section 4. The same distinction applies for the translation of English 'our'. For example,

Hí pwe yóótek ngani ham-a-r Koot. Hám-mám Koot, wo pwe tongeykemem.  
*Let us pray to God our (inc) father. God our (exc) father, have mercy upon us.*

In the last utterance, it is more common to use the inclusive ham-a-r Koot; probably the original translator into Trukese erred, and now ham-a-r Koot seems preferable to native speakers - although God, to Whom one is speaking - is not His own father. The mistake, if such it is, was made in Trukese (both Protestant and Catholic services on Puluwat, including hymns, are almost entirely in Trukese).

As with pronouns, such terms as *Ben's* and *mine* may be translated by use of a first person plural exclusive possessive (*our-exc*) and without any word for *mine*: Yíif-e-n Pen e no lepet-á-n yíif-e-mám me Tam. *Ben's age is between Tom's and mine. ('year-of Ben is staying between our-exc-year and Tom').*

The first person inclusive is commonly heard in citation forms. If one asks the word for *hand*, the answer is usually *paw-ú-r our (inc) hands*.

### Construct forms

Dyen suggests (1965:14) that a construct form (-Vn in Trukese) following a noun, its head, may often be glossed *of* in English. Thus, *yimw-á-n pin church* ('house-of sacredness').

Ho-Min Sohn has pointed out in an unpublished paper that the construct forms and possessive suffixes, although similar morphologically, differ syntactically. Thus *yimw-a-n his house* may occur before */./*, whereas the construct form *yimw-á-n* is always in a relationship with a following noun or noun phrase, as *yimw-á-n Polowat Puluwat house*.

According to an Ulul informant in Honolulu, even proper names may take construct form suffixes: *Pen-e-n iya? Pen-e-n Polowat. Ben from where? Puluwat Ben*.

### Stem vowels

Some of the stem vowels (as the *á* in *yimw-á-y my house*) vary in the different persons. They have been analysed as belonging to 13 paradigms. Paradigm 1 consists of a single stem vowel (*e, á, u, é, or Ø*), which in the *Dictionary* symbolisation follows 1 in parentheses. Digits on the left in table 4 are the paradigm numbers. Symbols across the top refer to persons.

	1s	2s	3s	cf	1pinc	1pexc	2p	3p*
1	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v (v = base vowel)
2	i	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	úú
3	i	ú	i	i	i	i	i	ii
4	i	u	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	úú
5	e	o	e	e	e	e	e	ee
6	á,e	ó	a	á	a	E	á	ee (E=e or other vowel)
7	á	ó	a	á	a	e	e	ee
8	á,e	ó	a	á	a	e	e	aa
<b>Fluctuating</b>								
9	á	o	a	á	a	á	á	aa
10	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ee
11	e	o	o	o	o	o	o	ee
12	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	uu
13	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	úú

\*v<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub> → v<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>

TABLE 4: STEM VOWELS OF NOUNS

Examples of the paradigms follow. The forms are listed in the order of the vertical columns in table 4, but only those construct forms differing from the third singular form (a, á). In some of the examples, the bases alternate according to rules explained below. The examples are all nouns (N1, N2, ...) except for one preposition, Prep 1(ó), wó-. The geminates in the third plural are often shortened in fast speech.

- N1(i). pwi-, classificatory sibling of speaker's sex, *mother's brother (male ego)*: pwi-i-y, pwi-i-mw, pwi-i-n, pwi-i-r, pwi-i-mám, pwi-i-mi, pwi-ii-f.
- N1(e). hee *penis*: he-e-y, he-e-mw, he-e-n, he-e-r, he-e-mám, he-e-mi, he-e-f.
- N1(á). má *death*: má-á-y, má-á-mw, má-á-n, má-á-r, má-á-mám, má-á-mi, má-á-f.
- N1(é). yómwónn *bait*: yómwónn-é-y, yómwónn-é-mw, ...
- N1(a). looka *sandals*: looka-a-y, looka-a-mw, ... a + a, á + á may become a or á in fast speech; ya toolap á-y peyfák, *I have many things*. Slow, yá-á-y peyfák.
- N1(o). máápwut *sore*: máápwut-o-y, máápwut-o-mw, ...
- Prep 1(ó). wó- *on, at*: wó-ó-y, wó-ó-mw, ...
- N2(i ú ...). hakúf *back*: hakúf-i-y, hakúf-ú-mw, hakúf-ú-n, hakúf-ú-f, hakúf-ú-mám, hakúf-ú-mi, hakúf-úú-f.
- N3(i ú i ...). yinek- *body*: yinek-i-y, yinek-ú-mw, yinek-i-n, yinek-i-r, yinek-i-mám, yinek-i-mi, yinek-ii-f.
- N4(i u ú). h- *manner*: h-i-y, h-u-mw, h-ú-n, h-ú-r, h-ú-mám, hú-mi, h-úú-r.
- N5(e o e ...). kiy-, mat classifier: kiy-e-y, kiy-o-mw, kiy-e-n, kiy-e-r, kiy-e-mi, kiy-e-mám, kiy-ee-f.
- N6(E)(á ó a á a E á ee: E = e, á, u, é, Ø). These varying vowels are only in the first plural exclusive. Dictionary entries in this large class are labelled N6(e), N6(á), etc. The Ø-allomorph follows bases ending in -m (see wúnúm- below) or -mw (yíimw below and note that final -mw has become -m; the sequence \*mwm seems not to occur).
- N6(e). faley *adzed object*: faley-á-y, faley-ó-mw, faley-a-n, faley-á-n, faley-a-r, faley-e-mám, faley-a-mi, faley-ee-f.
- N6(á). yáyínáng *clan*: yáyínáng-á-y, yáyínáng-ó-mw, yáyínáng-a-n, yáyínáng-á-n, yáyínáng-a-r, yáyínáng-á-mám, yáyínáng-á-mi, yáyínáng-ee-f.

- N6(u). *makúf head*: makúf-á-y, makúf-ó-mw, makúf-a-n, makúf-á-n, makúf-a-r, makúf-u-mám, makúf-á-mi, makúf-ee-f.
- N6(é). *haling ear*: haling-e-y, haling-ó-mw, háling-a-n, háling-á-n, haling-a-r, haling-é-mám, haling-a-mi, haling-ee-f.
- N6(Ø). *wúnúm- beverage*: wúnúm-á-y, wúnúm-ó-w, wúnúm-a-n, wúnúm-á-n, wúnúm-a-r, wúnúm-Ø-mám, wúnúm-á-mi, wúnúm-ee-f. *yimw house*: yimw-e-y, yimw-ó-mw, yimw-a-n, yimw-á-n, yimw-a-r, yimw-Ø-mám, yimw-á-mi, yimw-aa-f.
- N7(á ó a á a e ...). *mihily deception*: mihily-á-y, mihily-ó-mw, mihily-a-n, mihily-á-n, mihily-a-r, mihily-e-mám, mihily-e-mi, mihily-ee-f.
- N8(á ó a á a e e aa). *finnew classificatory sister of a male*: finnew-á-y, finnew-ó-mw, finnew-a-n, finnew-á-n, finnew-a-r, finnew-e-mám, finnew-e-mi, finnew-aa-f.
- N9(a ó a á a á á aa). *cca blood*: ccá-á-y, ccó-ó-mw, cca-a-n, ccá-á-n, cca-a-r, ccá-á-mám, ccá-á-mi, cca-a-f. (Note the assimilation of the final stem vowel. Such assimilations are numerous.)
- N10(o...ee). *fitik flesh*: fitik-o-y, fitik-o-mw, fitik-o-n, fitik-o-r, fitik-o-mám, fitik-ee-f. Also, *pwuuk navel*.
- N11(e o ... ee). *ttupw contribution*: ttupw-e-y, ttupw-o-mw, ttupw-o-n, ttupw-o-r, ttupw-o-mám, ttupw-o-mi, ttupw-ee-f.
- N12(o ... uu). *filiwo- choice*: filiwo-o-y, filiwo-o-mw, filiwo-o-n, filiwo-o-mám, filiwo-o-mi, filiwo-u-u-f.
- N13(ó ... úú). *likotó- game*: likotó-ó-y, likotó-ó-mw, likotó-ó-n, likotó-ó-r, likotó-ó-mám, likotó-ó-mi, likotó-ú-r.

#### Base alternations

A great many monosyllabic bases in the shape CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> are reduced to CV<sub>1</sub> before stem vowels and suffixes are added:

Independent base	Reconstructed base
haa <i>stomach</i> , N8: há-á-y, hó-ó-mw, ha-a-n, ...	ha-
hee <i>penis</i> , N1(e): he-e-y, h-e-mw, ...	he-
móó <i>taro islet</i> , N1(ó): mó-ó-y, m-ó-mw, ...	mó-
ngii <i>tooth</i> , N3: ngi-i-y, ngiy-ú-mw, ngi-i-n, ...	ngi-
téé <i>islet</i> , N1(é): té-é-y, té-é-mw, ...	té-

Túút *breast* (N2), is inflected t-i-y, t-ú-mw, t-ú-n, ... T- is the reconstructed base.

Kúú *finger nail* (N2), is inflected kk-i-y, kk-ú-mw, kk-ú-n, ... Kk- is the reconstructed base.

Geminate vowels in a few polysyllabic bases are likewise reduced, and this too is indicated in the *Dictionary*. See mwééwu, neeniy, peere, yatiilé, yaawút.

Geminate vowels in monosyllabic bases that do not reduce are also given in the *Dictionary*: see pwoot.

In some words CeC and CéC in the stem are replaced by CaC in the third plural (3p); for such *Dictionary* entries, the 1s and 3p forms are given.

Examples: lepelep *characteristic*, N7: lepelep-á-y, ... lapelap-ee-f.  
mehámeh- *variety*, N6(e): mehámeh-a-y, ... mahámah-ee-f.  
tef *relation*, N7: tef-á-y, ... taf-ee-f.

One word, yer- *near* VN1(o) replaces CeC by CoC in the 3p: yer-o-y, ... yor-oo-f.

-mw in the base before -mám (3p exc suffix) is replaced by -m. See the example under N6(Ø) above.

Bases are reconstructed if the vowel of the independent base changes in most of the persons; any person not changing is listed in the *Dictionary*.

raamw *forehead* N6(Ø). reemw- reconstructed base (except in 3p).  
reemw-á-y, reemw-ó-mw, reemw-a-n, ... raamw-ee-f.

yaal *road* N6(e). yel- reconstructed base (except in 3p).  
yel-á-y, yel-ó-mw, yel-a-n, ... yal-ee-f.

yaawo *mouth* N6(e). yew- reconstructed base (except in 3p).  
yew-á-y, yew-ó-mw, yew-a-n, ... yaw-ee-f.

yefaf *shoulder* N6(e). yefef reconstructed base (except in 1s and 3p).  
yefef-á-y, yefef-ó-mw, yefef-a-n, ... yefaf-ee-f.

The construct form suffix -n is the most common, but the following have been heard, apparently in free variation:

Some reconstructed bases end in glides, usually -y before front vowels and -w before mid and back vowels, as these very common words: pay-i-y, paw-u-mw, paw-ú-n, ... paw-uu-f *my hand, your hand, his/her hand*, ... *their hands*; náy-i-y, nów-u-mw, naw-ú-n, ... naw-uu-f *my child, your child, his/her child*, ... *their child*.

Bases without independent forms have been reconstructed. Thus: h-, N2 *manner* (h-i-y, h-ú-mw, h-ú-n, ...).

### Incomplete paradigms

A number of words do not have forms denoting all the persons. This is usually obvious from the meaning, as *ley-*, a preposition *between*, limited to the third singular and all the plural forms: *ley-i-n*, *ley-i-r*, *ley-i-mám-*, *ley-i-mi*, *ley-ii-f*. *Lepet-*, also meaning *between* is similarly only in the third singular and all the plural forms. *Fayito móttlw lepet-e-mám*. *Come and sit between us*. *Lepet-a-n pwoof ekkéwe*. *Between the boxes*. A form noted only in third singular and plural is *téété-é-n*, *téété-é-f* *clam or tridacna flesh*. Similarly, *mmar*, *mmer-a-n*, *mmar-ee-r* *ripe*; *faah*, *feh-á-n*, *fah-ee-f* *nest*.

### Multiple derivatives

Some inflected nouns are derived from verbs and may be translated 'object', as *ripily* *to shatter* and *ripiy-* *shattered object* (N6/e/), or *faal* *to carve* and *fál* (N10), *fel-* (N6/á/), and *faley-* (N6/e/) *carved object*. *Faley-ó-mw waa a fakkon mafa*. *The canoe you made is very fast*. ('*your-carved-object canoe is very fast*'). This is an example of multiple derivatives from a single base. In general, *fel-* and *fál-* are used for a personally owned carved object, and *fal-e-y* for an object adzed by one but not necessarily owned. Similar distinctions are made between *yinet-* (N1/i/) *personally owned share* and *yinet-i-y* (VN6/e/) *share distributed by*, *mákk* (N1/e/) *personal tattooing* and *mákk-e-y* (NV6/e/) *tattooing by*, and *fén* (N1/e/) *punishment received* and *fén-ú-w-* (N6/e/) *punishment inflicted*. The suffixes *-e-y*, *-i-y*, and *-ú-w* are third singular pronoun object markers or transitivisers.

The general possessive *ya-* plus these bases may be more common in ordinary speech. The informant's prescription is sometimes belied by his actual speech.

### A syntactic note

Most words taking attributive suffixes are nouns, e.g. they take noun-marking particles or occur in noun slots. A few, however, function as verbs (after verb-marking particles) or as prepositions (introducing noun phrases, or constituting noun phrases). The following are examples:

As noun (*yimw-á-y*): *Yakaac imw-á-y*. *My house is good*.

As verb (*kacc-ú-mi*) and as preposition (*fe-e-n*): *Ye pwe kacc-ú-mi yikene waw arooro fe-e-n engaang*. *It will be good for you if you work hard*. ('*it will be-good-for-you-pl if you strive in-it work*')

As a prepositional phrase (*fe-e-mw*): *Yi ya fáyito fe-e-mw*. *I have come with you*.

Some verbs function as nouns when taking attributive suffixes, as *filiwo- choice* (N12) from *fili* to *choose*, *likoto- game* (N13) from *likotó* to *play*, and *fáyit- coming* (N7) from *fáyí*-to to *come*.

*Filiwow-uu-f fa pwe le yengaang. Their choice, they will work.*

*Ngaang yi ya noono yikeey fe-e-n fáyit-ó-mw. I stayed here for your coming.*

## 8. OBJECT SUFFIXES

### Segmentation

Many verbs take transitive/reflexive and pronoun object suffixes, hereafter called **object suffixes**. These are analysed here in much the same way as were the attributive suffixes. They too are considered as consisting of three morphemes:

*fit ly áy go with me*  
 1 2 3

The discussion will be first the suffixes (3), and then the stem vowels (2). The bases, in marked contrast to those taking attributive suffixes, do not change.

The attributive suffixes are always word-final, whereas verbs taking object suffixes are frequently followed by directional suffixes. These, discussed in section 9, include such common forms as *-to*, towards the speaker and *-ló* away from the speaker, *completely*:

*fit iy áy ló go away with me*  
 1 2 3 4

Varying forms seem more numerous in verbs taking pronoun suffixes than in nouns taking attributive suffixes.

1s	-áy, -ey	1pinc	-kir
		1pexc	-kemem
2s	-k	2p	-kámi
3s	-y, -A, -w	3p	-f

TABLE 5: OBJECT SUFFIXES

The third singular -y tends to follow front vowels, whereas -w follows mid and back vowels; in fast speech the glide may be lost: *fiti-i-y go with him, fiiyo-o-w fight him, faalé-é-w anoint him, yapung-ú-w correct him.*

The alternant. written A may be realised as a, á, and less commonly e or ó, and occurs usually if the final morpheme is a directional suffix, but sometimes without a directional suffix. The third singular stem vowel is the same as the object suffix. Usually this vowel partially assimilates to the vowel of the final directional suffix, thus -á-á-tá, -a-a-ló and -ó-ó-to. Some examples:

*fit-a-a-ló go away with him*

*huk-a-a-ló open it up completely*

*likit-a-a-ló leave him completely*

*likit-á-á-tiw put it down*

*yamwus-a-a-ló excuse it completely*

*ya-pwah-a-a-ló dry it out completely*

*yó-sukuul-a-a-ló study it over there*

*wumwuuw-a-a-tá escort him east*

*wumwuuw-e-e-tiw escort him west*

*wumwuuw-ó-ó-to escort him here*

An -A suffix without a directional suffix following is *yáliháholap-a-a disobey him.*

Verbs with the -A suffix frequently precede the common manner particle *rak only, just* or occur in the sequence *negative + verb-A + mwo. no*

Examples:

*fáying-, fáying-i-y, V(i) call, summon*

*Ya yltto fáying-ii-f.*

*perf. come call-them*

*(/He/ came and called them.)*

*Hi kán fáying-a-a rak iteef.*

*we then call-it just their-name*

*(we then just called their names.)*

*fééf-, fééf-i-y, V(i) to do, fix*

*Waw ló fééf-i-y mwasin ewe (T4:3).*

*you-pl go fix-it machine the*

*(You went to fix the machine.)*



Hi háán            fef-a-a mwo.  
 we not (perf.) do-it yet  
 (We haven't done it yet.)

toof-, toof-i-y, V(i) reach, arrive  
 Yanay            mwéngé ya    toof-i-y.  
 my-cooked-food food perf. arrive-to-him  
 (My cooked food arrived.)

Ye háán            tof-a-a mwo.  
 3s not (perf.) arrive yet  
 (He has not arrived yet.)

wef-, wef-i-y, V(i) to get, find  
 Ya    wer-iy-áy máhúll.  
 perf. get-me cold  
 (I got a cold.)

Hi háán            wef-a-a mwo.  
 we not (perf.) find-it yet  
 (We haven't found it yet.)

mwéngé, eat  
 Yi hópw            mwéngé.  
 I not (imperf.) eat  
 (I'm not eating.)

Yi hópw            mwéngé-é no.  
 I not (imperf.) eat-it longer  
 (I'm not eating it any longer.)

w-, w-e-y, V(e) resemble  
 Yiwe ya    w-e-y            átá    yelán    iimw (T3:19).  
 well perf. look-like-it as-if path-of house  
 (Well, it looked like a house path.)

Ye há            w-e-e            no    nanewú.  
 3s not (perf.) look-like-it longer yesterday  
 (It didn't seem the same as yesterday.)

fáyí-ló go away  
 Yi hópw            fáyí-ló.  
 I not (imperf.) go-away  
 (I'm not going away.)

Yi hópw            fáyí-ló-ó no    túútú.  
 I not (imperf.) go-away longer bathe  
 (I'm not going away to bathe any longer.)

A variant of the third plural object -f is -n (or nl- before directional suffixes).

Wore-e-n uur e-kk-ana.  
*eat-them banana those*  
*(Eat those bananas.)*

Other examples:

Wúnúml-nl-ló núú yekkana. *Drink up those coconuts.*

Yenga-a-y-n plnsél kkaan. *Take those pencils.* (But: Yenga-a-y  
 plnsél iin. *Take this pencil.*)

Yáfil-i-nl-to fuwoow ekkanaan nú pwe wo pwe wúnúm-l-y. *Select two  
 coconuts you will drink.*

Also, klr-i-nl-to, wef-i-n, yang-l-nl-ló, yeklyek-i-n, yihan-i-ni-to.  
 Wú ya yeklyek-i-n ay ú pwe wukkuf (Pis). *I've been thinking about  
 my talking a walk.*

See nli-nil-n waa (Tl:148) *destroy the canoes.*

		Object suffixes: -(y)ay -k -y -klr -kemen -kámi -í						
Model	Dictionary symbol	1s	2s	3s	lpinc	lpexc	2p	3p*
(1) fit- <i>go with</i>	V(i)	i	i	i	i	i	i	ii
(2) ngan- <i>give</i>	V(iú)	i	ú	i	i	i	i	ii
(3) ruuf <i>meet</i>	V(lu)	i	u	i	i	i	i	ii
(4) yópwute- <i>dislike</i>	V(e)	e	e	e	e	e	e	ee
(5) tapwe- <i>follow</i>	V(eú)	e	ewú	e	e	e	e	ee
(6) yópfung <i>correct</i>	V(ú)	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	úú
(7) tumunu- <i>care for</i>	V(u)	u	u	u	u	u	u	uu
Changed 3p								
(8) yóméll <i>prepare</i>	V(É)	é	é	é	é	é	é	ii
(9) yahoonga- <i>scold</i>	V(AÓ)	á	ó	a	a	a	a	ee
(10) wuwaf <i>carry</i>	V(Y)	i	ú	ø	i	i	i	úú
(11) fiiyo- <i>fight</i>	V(O)	o	owu	o	o	o	o	wuu

\*V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>

Dictionary symbols: the first vowel (in parenthesis after V) is that found in the highest number of slots; the second vowel, if any, occurs in the second person singular. Capital letters indicate that the vowels in the third person plural change. They are sometimes shortened in fast speech.

TABLE 6: STEM VOWELS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

## Combinatory rules

## 1. Changes in the stem vowels:

Before front-vowel suffixes in the first singular (-áy, -ey), stem vowels i, e, ú, and a are followed by -y; ú, u, and o are followed by -w.

- (1) fit-: fit + i + áy → fit-iy-áy *go with me*  
 (4) yópwute-: yópwute + e + áy → yópwute-ey-áy *dislike me*  
 (8) yóméll-: yóméll + e + áy → yóméll-ey-áy *prepare myself*  
 (9) yahoonga-: yahoonga + á + áy → yahoonga-áy-áy *scold me*  
 (6) yópung-: yópung + ú + áy → yópung-úw-áy *correct me*  
 (7) tumunu-: tumunu + u + áy → tumunu-uw-áy *take care of me*  
 (11) fiiyo-: fiiyo- + o + áy → fiiyo-ow-áy *fight me*

## 2. Changes in the base vowels:

- a   /á → á: (9) yahoonga + áy + áy → yahoongá-áy-áy *scold me*  
 i   /ú → ú: yekiyeki + ú + k → yekiyekú-ú-k *think about yourself*  
 a   /ó → ó: (9) yahoonga + ó + k → yahoongó-ó-k *scold you*

## 3. Changing vowels in the third plural:

(a) -V is lost from bases, thus (9) yahoong- *scold*, (11) fliyo- *fight*.

(b) The stem vowels symbolized V(É), V(AÓ), V(O), and V(I) are in the third plural ii, ee, uu, úú.

4. Excrement vowels occur between final consonants (other than -k) of object suffixes and the directionals, usually -é-, but -i- after -kir. Second singular -k becomes -ko-, and second plural -kámi becomes -kámii; these forms are stressed. For examples, see below.

## Models

(1) fit- (V/e/).

1s	fit-iy-áy <i>go with me</i>	fit-iy-áy-íó <i>go away with me</i>
2s	fit-i-k <i>go with you</i>	flt-i-ko-íó <i>go away with you</i>
3s	fit-i-y <i>go with him/her; go with</i>	fit-i-yé-íó <i>go away with him/her</i>
1pinc	fit-i-kir <i>go with us (inc)</i>	fit-i-klri-íó <i>to away with us</i>
1pexc	fit-i-kemem <i>go with us (exc)</i>	fit-i-kememé-íó <i>go away with us</i>
2p	fit-kámi <i>go with you</i>	fit-i-kámii-íó <i>go away with you</i>
3p	fit-i-íí <i>go with them</i>	fit-i-iré-íó <i>go away with them</i>

The order of the untranslated forms listed below is the same as above, except ... indicates similarly patterning omitted forms. Usually only the third singular of the -ló forms is given. Digits in parentheses refer to model numbers in table 6.

(2) ngan- (V/iú/): ngan-iy-áy, ngan-ú-k, ngan-i-y, ngan-i-kir, ngan-i-kemem, ngan-i-kámi, ngan-ii-f. Some V(e) forms are noted with this base, as ngan-ey-áy *give to me*, ngan-e-y *give to him/her*, ngan-ee-f *give to them*. Directionals are suffixed usually to the base plus a third singular -eey-: ngang-eey-áy-to *to give it to me*, ngan-eey-ko-ló *give it to you*, ...

(3) ruuf- (V/iu/): ruuf-iy-áy, ruuf-u-k, ruuf-i-y, ..., fuuf-i-yé-ló.

(4) yópwute- (V/e/): yópwute-ey-áy, yópwute-e-k, yópwute-e-y, ... yópwute-e-yé-ló.

(5) tapwe- (V/eú/): tapwe-éy-áy, tapwe-ewú-k, tapwe-e-y, ... tapwe-e-yé-ló.

(6) yópung- (V/ú/): yópung-úw-áy, yópung-ú-k, yópung-úw, yópung-ú-kir, ... yópung-ú-we-ló.

(7) tumunu- (V/u/): tumunu-uw-áy, tumunu-u-k, tumunu-w, tumunu-u-kir, tumunu-u-kemem, tumunu-u-kámi, tumunu-u-f, tumunu-u-wé-ló.

(8) yóméll- (V/É/): yóméll-éy-áy, yóméll-é-k, yóméll-é-y, ... yóméll-ii-f, yóméll-e-yé-ló.

(9) yahoonga- (V/A0/): yahoonga-áy-áy, yahoongó-ó-k, yahoonga-a-ó, yahoonga-a-kir, ... yahoong-ee-f, yahoonga-a-yé-ló.

(10) wuway- V(l): wuway-iy-ay, wuway-úk, wuway, wuway-i-kir, ... wuway-úú-f.

(11) fiiyo- (V/0/): fiiyo-ow-áy, fiiyo-o-k, fiiyo-o-w, fiiyo-o-kir, fiiyo-o-kemem, fiiyo-o-kámi, fiiy-uu-f, fiiy-o-wé-ló.

#### Transitive use

Often the third singular has but one function, to indicate a coming verb object; an independent form may also fill such a slot:

Yi pwe kéél kéélún fanu. *I will sing community songs.*  
kéélúw

Without a following object, the independent form is the most common: Yi pwe kéél. *I will sing.*

In the first of the following sentences, the 3s pronoun object is emphasized: Wo ho mwerán ángan-i-y e pwe le fáyito? *Don't you want to tell him he should come?* Wo ho mwerán ángan e pwe le fáylto? *Don't you want to say he should come?*

### Reflexive use

Some verbs are used reflexively, as *ya-kkel-* (V/aó/) *to strengthen*:  
*Ngaang, yi pwe ya-kkel-áy-áy lee engaang. I will work very hard. ("as-for-me I will strengthen-myself in work").* *Wo pwe ya-kkel-ó-k. Be strong.*

*Wo pwal amahak-ú-k* (T3:83). *You are frightened again.* (In this instance, the reflexive verb is conveniently translated by an English passive voice, a category not found in Puluwat.)

See in the *Dictionary* *tecci-* *to eat*.

### Verb prepositions

Two common verbs function also as prepositions; each of them is inflected V(e), and *ngan-* also as V(iú) and *toof-* also as V(i).

*ngan-* *to give, to.* *Ye haaf suupwa fe há ngan-ee-f* (T1:34). *There was no tobacco they might give them. ("is no tobacco they not give them").* *Wo pwe ngan-iy-áy efór suupwa. Give me a cigarette. Ya a fáyito ngan-ey-áy. He came to me.*

*toof-* *to reach, to.* *Ngaang, yiy a toof-ii-f. I reached them.*  
*Wo pwe ie toof-e-y fanúwán Wuung* (T1:54). *You will reach Ridgepole's land. Ya a fáyiló toof-i-y Ruuk. He went to Truk.*

### Fluctuations

Much fluctuation has been noted, as *ngan-* and *toof-*, each V(e) as well as V(iú) and V(i). Such fluctuations are most common in the third singular, as *yanngan-i-y* and *yanngan-e-y* *grab him* (my informant cited *yanngan-e-y*, and then recited the paradigm with -i- as the stem vowel). Other switches are common in the third singular, as *kútta* and *kútteey* *look for something*. One hears *yósukuul*, *yósukuulúw*, and *yósukuulaa* *teach him*. My informant changed an earlier *wuway-úú-f* *carry them* (VY) to *wuway-li-f* (Vi).

In the second person plural one hears sometimes *-kemi* instead of more common *-kámi*, as after a high front vowel (*ni-i-kámi* *kill you*) as well as *ni-i-kemi* in T1:12.

### Attributive suffixes, object suffixes, and independent pronouns

Certain similarities pervade the inflections containing attributive and object suffixes, and some of these have a relationship with independent pronouns.

### Stem vowels

1. Paradigms in each inflective system are based on changing stem vowels. Individual slots in each paradigm can be plotted and are fairly constantly filled with the same vowel, but much flitting exists of given bases from paradigm to paradigm.

2. The vowels in the third plural are usually somewhat long (but probably not so in very fast speech), and in some cases (symbolized morphophonemically by capital letters), aberrant.

3. The second singular is frequently aberrant.

### Suffixes

The obvious relationships of some of the suffixes and the corresponding independent pronouns are apparent in the following table. The initial *k-* in the object suffixes is probably the same *k-* that alternates with *w-* or *y-* in such lexical items *ad koor* and *woor coconut fibre* and *kúú* and *yéé fishhook*, and in the pronouns *yeen* and *keen you* (sg.), and therefore cannot be considered a morpheme. The attributive suffix forms can be analyzed as monomorphemic, and the others perhaps as distributionally identified allomorphs.

	Attributive Suffixes	Object Suffixes	Independent Pronouns
1s	-y	-á y	
3s	-y	-y	y i i y
1pinc	-r	-k i r	k i i r
1pexc	-mem	-k e m e m	y á á m e m
2p	-mi	-k á m i	y á á m i
3p	-f	-f	y i i f

TABLE 7: SUFFIXES AND INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

## 9. DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES AND DIRECTIONS

### Inventory

All but the last of the seven directional suffixes listed below are in constant use and are productive; some speakers apparently do not use the last one. Most if not all verbs expressing motion or movement of



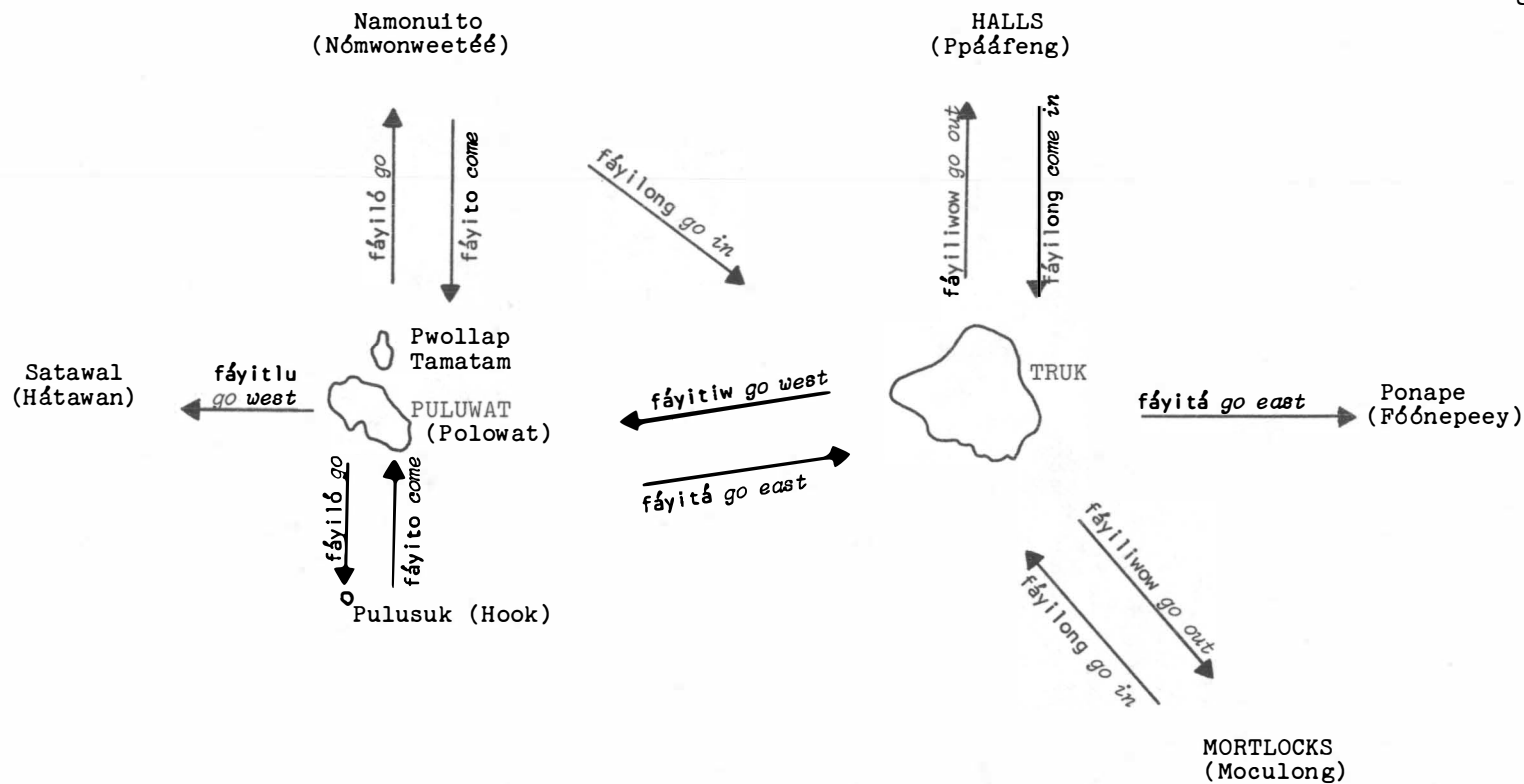


PLATE 1: GOING AND COMING



Some directionals have the meaning *bring, fetch (-to)* or *take, send (-l6)*: kkaru *to cut, as bananas*, kkaru-to *to cut and fetch*, kkaru-l6 *to cut and send away, as a gift of bananas*. fáyi *to cut*, and fáyiy-o-to *to cut and bring*.

Examples of -waw: Faatúl-waw *paddle towards the addressee*. Yi hópw fáyili-waw. *I'm not going near you*. Ya a háng-waw ikenah, ya mwerán fáyili-waw. *He's crying over there by you, he wants to go to you*.

The directional -l6 (and allomorphs laa and lé) are used commonly as verbs.

Wo le l6 yee. *You go*. /common farewell to one person leaving/.  
("you immediately go-away durative")

Yi pwe le l6 hááy! (Tl:9). *I'm going sailing*.

Hi pwe laa mwo ttow anar pwula (Tl:15). *We'll go and just prod loose our taro food*.

Ra a lé iya yówoton imw een? *Where have the people in this house gone?*

A rare tooto seems to be a reduplication of the directional -to:

Yay a tooto (Tl:179). *We've come*.

Names do exist for the points of the compass, as indicated on Plate 2. The qualifying words on the chart eyah and ehón refer respectively to *east* and *west*. NNE is thus *north of east*. The four points marked leepetan are rather cumbersome. *Northeast* is lee petan yefengin eyah me yéétiwaafáng *between NNE and ENE*.

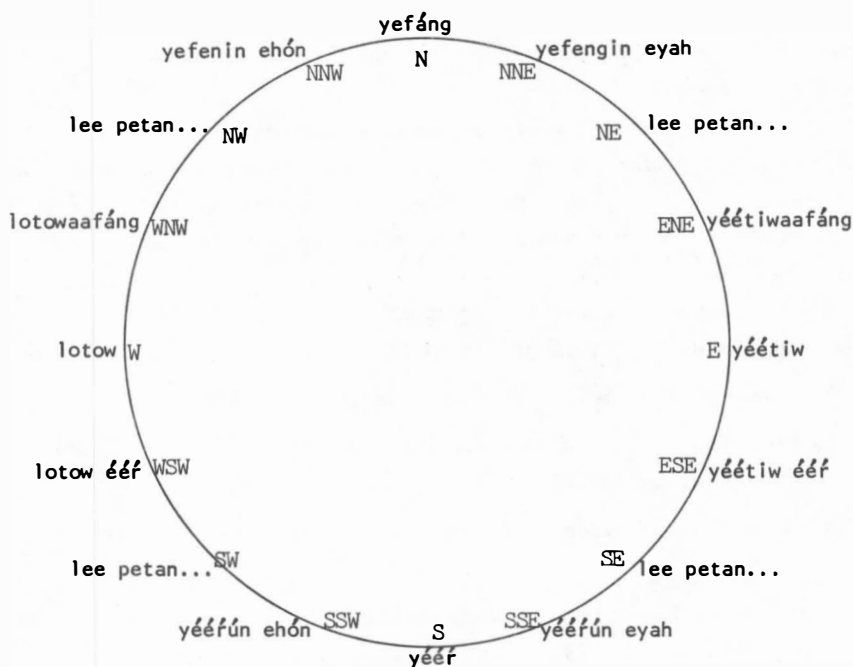


PLATE 2: POINTS OF THE COMPASS

### Morphophonemic Changes

Some bases do not change upon suffixation of directionals, as *hááf-ló* to be completely over, as rain and *mawúr-ló* to fall off to sleep. Occasionally an excrescent vowel is heard: *hááf-é-ló*, *mawúr-é-ló*.

A base ending in -t is directly followed by directional suffixes beginning with -t-, but an excrescent vowel is inserted before the other directional suffixes:

*yet-to* to come

*yet-tá* to go up or eastward

*yetiow* to go out. See also *yet-* to go.

Vowel harmony seems to play a part in selection of excrescent vowel. High vowels tend to follow stems containing high vowels, etc. This is by no means always the case. A few examples follow.

Last base vowel	Excrescent vowel	Examples
i	i	fir-i-ló <i>better</i>
	e	niiy-e-ló <i>to kill</i>
e	i	wel-l-ló <i>different</i>
	i	yarey-i-tiw <i>to throw down</i>
	a	yarey-a-long <i>to throw in</i>
ú	i	mwúc-i-ló <i>completely finished</i>
	u	lúh-u-tá <i>to jump up</i>
	o	wúúf-o-ló <i>completely full</i>
é	é	méll-é-ló <i>completely finished</i>
a	a	kkapah-a-wow <i>to talk outside</i>
	e	yafap-e-to <i>nearby</i>
	é	kamw-é-ló <i>to tear</i>
u	u	tuupw-u-tiw <i>to wade west</i>
	o	pwuf-o-ló <i>ebb tide</i>
o	o	róh-o-ló <i>all used up</i>
	é	hoong-é-ló <i>to scold</i>
ó	u	mópw-u-ló <i>drowned</i>

The excrescent vowels following the common word *pakúw to cut, fell* vary: *pakúúwoto, pakúúweló, pakúúweti, pakúúwolong, pakúúwowow, pakúúwowaw.*

The final vowel of bases ending in single vowels is doubled before directionals: *cca, ccaaló blood, be bloody; kite, kiteeló saliva, to spit; no, nooló to stay, to stay a long time; túútú, túútúúló to bathe, to bathe completely.*

The vowel in some bases is doubled before directional suffixes: *wúf, wúúfúló fill, fill completely; wúng, wúúngúló surpass, greatly surpass.*

Verbs ending in -l or -n follow the morphophonemic rules 6 and 7 described in section 2 ( $l, n + t \rightarrow tt$ ;  $l, n + l \rightarrow ll$ ). Base vowels may assimilate partially to suffixal vowels.

*fatúl to paddle: fatútto, fatúlló, fatúttá, fatútti, fatúllong, fatúllewow, fatúlwaw.*

*yihón to keep: yihótto, yiháttá, yihátti, yihóllong, yihónwow. See also faan, hafáál-.*

In place of excrescents are -ee-, -áá-, -aa-, or -óó- between some bases and directionals. Here also, vowel harmony is influential. Sometimes an alternate form may contain a single excrescent vowel instead of a geminate.

fil-áá-tá, fil-i-tá *choose*  
 fit-aa-ló *go away with*  
 fit-áá-tá *go up with*  
 huk-aa-ló *open up*  
 huk-áá-tiw *open upwards*  
 likit-aa-ló *put away*  
 likit-áá-tiw *put down*  
 lóók-ee-ló, lóók-a-ló *lock up*  
 wumwuuw-áá-tá *escort east*  
 wumwuuw-ee-tiw *escort west*  
 wumwuuw-óó-to *escort here*  
 yósukuul-aa-ló *study there*

Many words with directional suffixes take also attributive suffixes, thus filling noun slots: Ngaang iy a noono llón imwán pin feen fááyí-t-ee-f. *I waited in the church until they came. ("as-for-me I did stay in house-of sacredness because their-coming")*.

The directional -ló (and allomorphs laa and lé) are used commonly as verbs.

Wo le ló ee. *You go /common farewell to one person leaving/. ("you immediately go-away durative")*.

Yiy pwe le ló hááyí (Tl:9). *I'm going sailing.*

Hí pwe laa mwo ttow anar ... pwula (Tl:15). *We'll go and just prod loose our ... taro food.*

Ra a lé iya yówoton imw een? *Where have the people in this house gone?*

## 10. POSSESSIVE CLASSIFIERS: KINSMEN AND OTHER PROPERTY

### A taxonomy of property

In this preliminary section an attempt is made to present a Puluwat overall view of property, the details of which are presented in later sections. The Puluwat taxonomy may seem 'illogical' to foreigners, a characteristic of most taxonomies, and this does not lessen its worth as affording insight into what seems important to the bearers of the

culture. The questioner might say, why are coconuts, which are never cooked, classed with cooked vegetables, and why is all meat (whether cooked or raw) classed with uncooked vegetables and fruits? Why is smoking equated with drinking? Why are kinsfolk considered a form of property? Why is a term sometimes translated *brother* or *sister* also translated *friend*? The answer to all these questions is the same. The names for these objects pattern in similar ways. They serve as possessive classifying-nouns, and form verbal derivatives depicting the type of 'having', e.g. ownership. One 'has' a house and 'has' a father. They are expressed in the same way, by reduplicated bases. *Yimwayimw to have a house* (yiimw); *hamaham is to have a father* (haam). Instead of 'having' one may say 'using'; one 'uses' (or 'wears') clothes, 'uses' (or 'eats') coconuts and cooked vegetables, 'uses' (or 'drinks' or 'smokes') coconuts and cigarettes.

Property may be considered inalienable and alienable. The inalienable property words take possessive suffixes directly (*páy-i-y my hand*) and includes actions (*fáy-i-t-o-y my coming*). Items of alienable property do not directly take possessive suffixes. Instead, they are preceded by a classifier that takes the suffixes. Sometimes but not always the classifier is a noun in its own right. The alienable property consists of man-made goods, such as bowls, mats, vehicles, clothes, adornments, tools, food, drink, land, and kin. Since the kin terms behave exactly as the terms for other property both by acting as classifiers (some of them), and possessing verbal derivatives, they are discussed in this chapter.

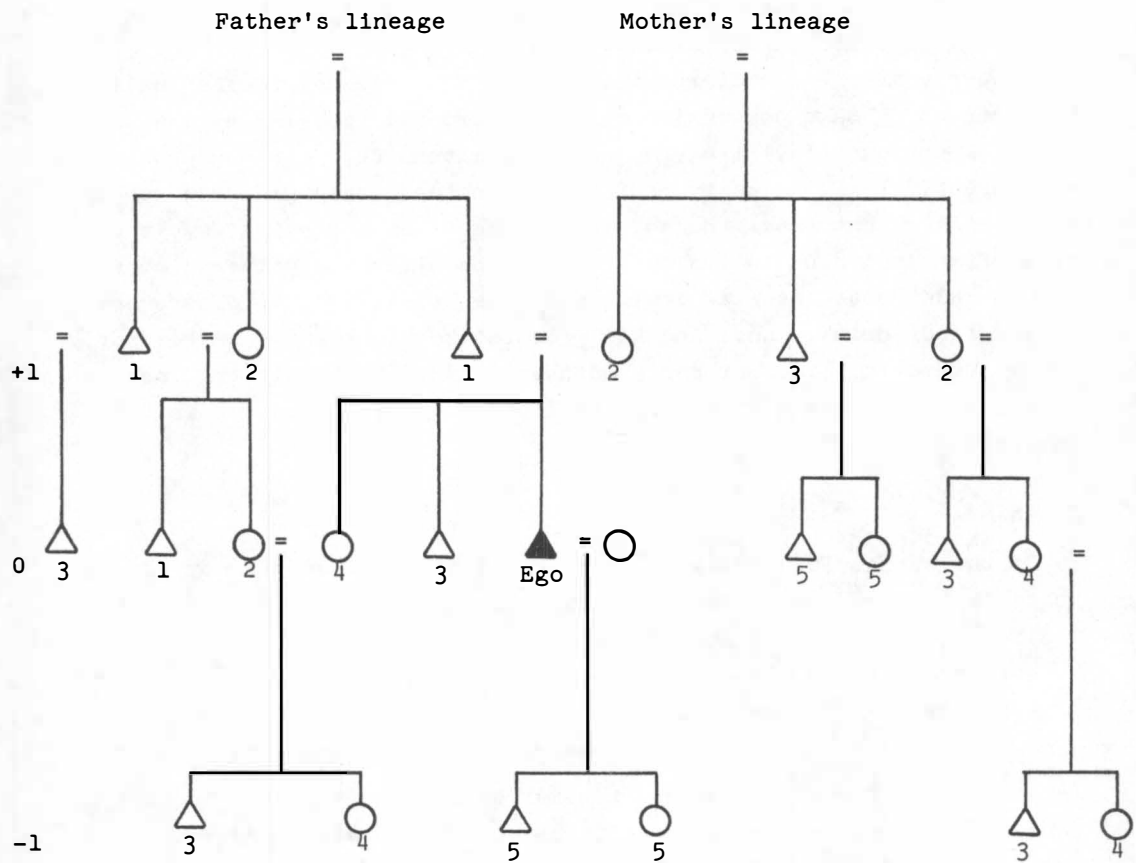
### Kinship

Of the categories involving property, that of kinship is by far the most complicated, and will be discussed in some detail in this section. The following abbreviations are used:

<i>Br:</i> brother	<i>Fa:</i> father	<i>Si:</i> sister
<i>Chi:</i> child	<i>Mo:</i> mother	<i>So:</i> son
<i>Da:</i> daughter	<i>m.s.</i> male speaking	<i>w.s.</i> woman speaking

Five terms for consanguineal kin may be considered basic in that all consanguineal kinship relationships may be formed with them, some with qualifiers. They are applicable to three generations, Ego's (0), one ascending (+1), and one descending (-1). These digits follow in parentheses the English equivalents of each Puluwat term in the following list. The digits are in the order of the English equivalents.

1. haam: *Fa, FaBr, FaSiSo* (+1, +1, 0)
  2. yiln: *Mo, FaSi, MoSi, FaSiDa* (+1, +1, +1, 0)
  3. pwi-  
*m.s.: MoBr, Br, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, SiSo, MoSiDaSo* (1, 0, 0, 0, -1, -1)  
*w.s.: Si, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, SiDa, MoSiDaDa* (0, 0, 0, -1, -1)  
*m.s., w.s.: friend*
  4. mwéngéyáng:  
*m.s.: Si, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, SiDa, MoSiDaDa* (0, 0, 0, -1, -1)  
*w.s.: MoBr, Br, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, MoSiDaSo* (+1, 0, 0, 0, -1)
  5. nawú-: *MoBrChi, Chi, FaBrChiChi, MoSiChiChi* (0, -1, -1, -1)
- In plate 3, the five consanguineal terms are arranged in a tree.



The digits under the sex symbols have the following Puluwat correspondences: 1, haam; 2, yiln; 3, pwi; 4, mwéngéyáng; 5, nawá-.

PLATE 3: BASIC CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP TERMS

The most anomalous feature of the system, from the Euro-American viewpoint, is that all the terms cut across generations, that a man calls his parents and his father's sister's children by the same name (mother and father), and their children (his nephews and nieces) by the same terms as his own siblings, and that he groups as *pwi* his own brother and his mother's brother, and that the latter's children, who are in his own generation, are classed as his own 'children'. Relative age and relative generation are not significant. (Our cook on Puluwat, about 30 years old, was the 'son' of Celestino, a 17 year old son of Lipifán, who was our cook's father's sister.)

Murdock in his 1949 review of social organizations considers (p.102) the Crow and Omaha kinship terminology, into which the Puluwat system would probably fit, 'the most striking example of classificatory terms resulting from the ignoring of generation differences'. It is characteristic, he says, of matrilineal descent. As an anthropologist he is curious as to cultural reflections of the system, and hazards the general statement (p.166) that "FaSi and her children are members of the same consanguineal kin group, the fact of such participation presumably operates as a social equalizer to overcome the inherent distinction of generation". A Puluwat grammar cannot attempt to decide whether mother's brother is as 'important' to Ego as the other *pwi*-, his true brother.

Certain alternate terms exist for four of the five basic terms:

1. *haam*: *hamelap* true father ("big father")
2. *yiin*: *yinelap* true mother ("big mother")
3. *pwi*:- *senior*: *hamwol* ("chief")

*mwéngéyán*: *m.s.*: *finnew*, *mwéyingang*, *róópwut* ("woman"), *yáháákihát*  
*w.s.*: *mwáán*, *mwáánuw*, *mwéringang*

Such of these terms as are basic function also as verbs *to have as father, mother, sibling, ...* Some of them function also as noun classifiers.

A few other kinship terms are entered below for convenience. They do not function in the same way, and therefore would be entered in grammars of kin rather than in grammars of words. Some of them are affinal.

Consanguineal relative: *yefeméh* ("person"), *fitik* ("flesh"), *hópwon* *fitik* ("flesh part"): these can be as remote as *MoMoBrDaSo* (*m.s.*, with *Br* a male cousin), with mutual obligations; *mááfeef*, *yáyóf* (distant, but with obligations); *mofoñi koor* ("coconut husk fibre", remote, and usually living on another island).

Patrilineal: male vis-à-vis his father's clan: *yafaakúfen ayingáng* (with obligations to work on his father's clan's boathouse, house, canoe).

Affinal relatives: *yééh-* (*general*), *mwáánefót* (*brother of the woman of the house*), *mwáánepwito* (*"man who comes", a man married into a matrilocal family*); *róónimw* (*spouse ("house person")*); *pwiin róónimw*, *mwéngayang róónimw* (*spouse's siblings*); *róónimwán pwi-*, *róónimwan mwéngayang* (*Ego's siblings' spouses*). On Nomuinuito, Trukese *puluw-* is more common than *róónimw*, but the latter, being less personal, is considered more polite.

Age terms for siblings: the first-born in a family is called *mwáánerii* if male and *finerii* if female; only one person in a family is so designated; the youngest sibling is *hoorikirik*.

*Son* and *daughter* may be distinguished by sex designations: *náy/i/y* *át my son* and *náy/i/y róópwut my daughter*.

Most kinship terms are for reference only. Children sometimes address their parents as *hem-á-y my father* and *yín-a-y my mother*, as well as *mama* and *papa*, but more commonly use the parent's common name, whether a baptismal or Puluwat name.

#### Sequences of nouns

A very common noun + noun construction in Puluwat consists of a noun + attributive suffix followed by another noun:

- (a) *naw-ú-n ÁT his son ("his-child boy")*
- (b) *YIMW-Á-N-I pin church ("house-of sacredness")*

The examples differ. *Naw-ú-n* contains a possessive suffix, *yimw-á-n-i* a construct suffix. In (a), the head is *ÁT*; in (b) the head is *YIMW-Á-N-I*. The function of *naw-ú-n* is to define the nature of the possessed object *át*, which may in other contexts mean *boy* or *child*. The function of *pin*, which is attributive to *yimw-á-n-i*, is to narrow the semantic range of the head *yimw-á-n-i*. So in the sequence *pwúl-ú-n woot Colocasia taro patch*, *woot* narrows the range of *pwúl-ú-n* *swamp garden*.

In (a) *naw-ú-n* is a possessive classifier. In (b) *pin* is a noun qualifier.

#### Noun classifiers with verbal derivatives defining ownership

Many bases that may function as possessive classifiers have derivatives that gloss the types of ownership involved: a reduplicated derivative indicating provisional or temporary ownership, and a form with the suffix *-ni* (or *-niy*, *-ániy*, *-áániy*, *-iniy*, *-úniy*, *-eniy*) indicating full or permanent ownership. (These terms for ownership types were used for Trukese by Goodenough, 1966(b):186. For reduplication types see section 11.



náy-i-y kolaak	my dog ("my-child dog")
nawú-nawú kolaak	to have or raise a dog (temporarily)
-nawú-ni kolaak	to own or keep a dog (permanently)
yá-á-y fawsis	my (general) trousers
yá-á-yá rawsis	to borrow, wear temporarily, or use trousers
yá-ni rawsis	to keep or own trousers
(The base is ya-, general classifier.)	
wá-á-y citosa	my car ("my-vehicle car")
waa-wa citosa	to drive or use a car
waa-ni citosa	to keep or own a car

There follows a sampling of nouns that have such derivatives. Most but not all of them function also as possessive classifiers (pos.cl.). Consult the *Dictionary* for full meanings and inflections. References are made by number to the five basic kinship terms in plate 3. An important distinction underlies the meaning of reduplicated and -ni- forms of the kinship terms: they both carry the meaning *to have as*. The distinction found with the terms not involving kinsmen - *to have temporarily* and *to have permanently*, does not apply. The two forms are apparently used interchangeably, except that the ni- form carries a nuance of transitivity.

With the base wor-, pos.cl. for raw food and meat, the reduplicated form signifies an uncompleted act *to be eating*; the -aniy form, a completed *to eat up*.

Base Noun or Pos.Cl.	Derivatives	
	Verb 'to have a Provisional Title'*	Full Title'
fanú land	féf-fanú	fanúw-ániy
flnnew-mwengeyang (4)		finniw-áániy
fówut- ornaments, pos.cl.	féf-fówut	fówut-áni, fówuteey
haam (1), pos. cl. for senior persons	ham-a-ham*	hám-ániy
hápi bowl	héh-hápiy	hápiy-ániy
kiy-, pos.cl. for pandanus mats	kiy-e-kiy	kiy-eni
la-, pos.cl. for bracelets	láá-lá	laa-niy
lim sharp tool, pos.cl.	lim-á-lim	lim-áni
méngaak clothes, pos.cl.	mém-méngaak	mém-méngaak-iniy
mwááf lei, pos.cl.	mwááf-a-mwááf	mwááf-aniy
na- child, pos.cl. for junior persons and animals and small foreign objects	nawú-nawú	nawú-niy
paaf hat, umbrella, pos.cl.	paaf-ú-paf	paaaf-úniy, pafun-aalo

peyifak <i>goods</i>	pép-peyifák	pefák-iniy
pwi-, classificatory sibling of Ego's sex, see (3) above	pwii-pwi*	pwii-niy
rúw- <i>earring</i>	rúw-á-rú	rúw-aniy
táyk <i>turmeric</i>		táák-oniiy
wa <i>canoe, vehicle</i> , pos.cl.	waa-wa	waa-niy
wanuw- <i>leis, finery</i> , pos.cl.	wa-wanuw	wanuw-aniy
wóók <i>cane, club, stick, spear</i> , pos.cl.	wók-o-wók	wókúniy
woowúh <i>sheet, cover</i>	woowúh-oowúh	woowúh-aniy
wor-, pos.cl. for raw food, meat	wora-ar	wora-aniy, wor-eeey
wofoh- <i>light</i>	wofa-af	wofeh-ániy
wúlúng- <i>pillow</i>	wúl-úúl	wúlúng-ániy
wúnúm-, pos.cl. for beverages, tobacco		wúnúm-iy
wúúf <i>clothes</i> , pos.cl.	wúf-a-wúf	wúf-ániy
ya-, general pos.cl. for artefacts not taking nawu-	yáá-yá	yáá-ni
yáháák- = mwéngéyan (4, m.s.), <i>classificatory sister</i>	yáháák-ihát*	
yan- <i>cooked food, coconuts</i> , pos.cl.		
yanúk-, pos.cl. for ropes		yanúk-iniy
yápel <i>loincloth</i> , pos.cl.	yápel-epel	yápel-eniy
yapwah- <i>loincloth</i> , pos.cl.	yapwah-apwah	yapwah-ániy
yimw <i>house</i> , pos.cl. for houses, hats, umbrellas	yimw-á-yimw	yimw-ániy
yiin (2), <i>classificatory mother</i>	yin-a-yin*	yin-ániy
yiit <i>name</i>	yit-e-yit	yit-eniy
yoo <i>cane</i>	yoo-yo	yooyo-niy

\*Full title

## Examples (artifacts)

Yi pwe féf-fanú fénúw-ó-mw, yi hópw fanúw-ániy. *I'll use your land, I won't keep it.*

Yifa paaf iwe paf-u-mw, yi pwe paf-ú-paf; yiy hapw pafún-a-a-ló.  
*Where is your hat? I'll wear it; I won't keep it. ("where hat the your-hat, I will use-as-a-hat; I won't keep-as-a-hat") (pafún-a-a-ló is a variant for paaf-úniy.)*

Ye haaf ne e waa-wa waa we wá-á-y? *Is anyone using my canoe? ("is not anyone is using-canoe canoe the my-canoe")*

Yifa wó-kú-mw ttow, yi pwe wók-o-wók lee ló wayilé, yi hópw wók-úniy.  
*Where is your spear, I'll use /it/ going fishing, I won't keep it.*

Wó-ó-mw kkéwe ffór otopay (Pis.). *Your four motor bikes. ("your-canoe the four-long-objects autobikes")*

#### Examples (kinship)

Finn ewe ya kán ham-a-ham mwáán ewe. *The woman has the man as haam.*

Finn ewe a hám-ániy mwáán ewe. *The woman has the man as haam.*

Pen e pwe hám-ániy-áy. *Ben will have me as haam.*

Pen a yin-a-yin (yin-ániy) Ineh. *Ben has Ines as yiin.*

Hi pwe pwii-pwi. *Let's be friends.*

Yi mwerán pwii-niy átenaan. *I want to be friends with him.*

Mwáán eey e yáháák-ihát Kafmen. *This man has Carmen as yáháák-.*

#### Nouns with multiple classifiers

Selection of possessive classifier may change the meanings of some nouns.

hamwol: náy-i-y hamwol *my (island) chief*, yá-á-y hamwol *my older brother, my clan head*, hám-á-y hamwol *my lord chief (honorific) ("my-father chief")* Ulul.

mááy: yán-á-y mááy *my cooked breadfruit*, yá-á-y mááy *my breadfruit tree (or breadfruit other than for eating)*.

sasing: náy-i-y sasing *my photograph (of me)*, yá-á-n Pen sasing *Ben's camera, picture taken by or belonging to Ben*.

tamak: naw-ú-n Pen tamak *tobacco owned or planted by Ben*, wúnúm-á-n Pen tamak *Ben's smoking tobacco*.

woong: wor-á-y woong *my turtle (to eat)*, náy-i-y woong *my turtle (as on the beach)*.

wuur: yá-á-n Pen wuur *bananas raised, owned, or given by Ben*, wor-á-y Pen wuur *raw bananas eaten by Ben*, yán-á-n Pen wuur *cooked bananas eaten by Ben*.

yiik: liyap-á-y iik *my fish catch*, wor-e-y iik *my raw fish food*, yán-á-y ilk *my cooked fish food*.

#### Inalienable nouns that have classifiers

A few nouns that are usually inalienable (taking attributive suffixes) also occur after possessive classifiers with changed meanings. When preceded by a classifier, the noun base may have a gloss that is less an intimate part of that base: compare sasing-i-y *my photograph (of me)* and ná-á-y sasing *my camera, picture taken by me or belonging to me*. This generalization as to intimacy seems true of the samples listed below,

except possibly for raan and mwáán. As for raan water, its use as a beverage outweighs other considerations, as this classifier is extremely common. And as for mwáán, the foreigner would think that a woman's son (naw-ún mwáán) would be much more closely linked to her than her brother (mwáán-e-n). The theory of inalienable intimacy, however, might provoke a contrary hypothesis that might be amenable to study by a student of brother-sister avoidance.

kéél: yá-á-n Yilaf kéél-ú-n Pen song (sung by) Yilaf (in honour of) Ben.

lamalam: lamalam-á-y my character, yá-á-y lamalam my religion.

mwáán: mwáán-e-y my brother (female speaking), yá-á-y mwáán my older brother (male speaking), náy-i-y mwáán my (adult) son.

pwóóf: pwóóf-o-y my coffin, yá-á-y pwóóf my box.

raan: ran-i-y my bath water, wúnúm-á-y raan my drinking water.

sasing: Fáyiló sasing feen Sóól, yi pwe nawún! sasing-i-mw. Go and have /your/ picture /taken/ by Saul, I will keep your picture.

yekiyek: yekiyeki-i-y thoughts (concerning) me, yá-á-y yekiyek my thoughts. Yó-ó-mw yekiyekúúk pwe yeen meyi wetik (Ulul). Your ideas as to yourself are that you are good.

#### Accommodation and leveling

New terms have been fitted into the property scheme. My car is wá-á-y citosa ("my-canoe car"), a scooter on Nomuinito is wá-á-y otopay. Three classifiers are applied to Western clothes, from top to bottom wúf-a-n saac his shirt ("his upper-garment shirt"), yá-á-n fawsis his trousers ("his-general trousers"), and naw-ún suus his shoes ("his-child shoes"). The classifier na- is used for a great many small foreign objects such as money, pencils, and knives. Such accommodation of exotica within the native system parallels a description by Basso of the Western Apache extension of anatomical terms to automobile parts, a process he calls 'set extension'.

With extension comes leveling of distinctions in the form of increasing use of the common classifiers na- and ya- in place of the rarer ones. My spear is perhaps increasingly náy-i-y likáppir instead of wók-i-y likáppir ("my-stick spear"). A navigator may be yá-á-y ppalúw unless he is deliberately honored by the title hám-á-y ppalúw ("my-father navigator"). On Nomuinito, which is more acculturated than Puluwat, the common way to say my boss is ney-i-y pwooss ("my-child boss"). Here the Hawaiian or generation type of kinship terminology is replacing the Crow type found on Puluwat. A mother's brother is a father rather than a brother. Father's sister's children are now

*brothers* and *sisters* rather than *parents*. Any classificatory sibling is now *pwi-* regardless of speaker's sex. In Tl:76, *pwiin* refers to the classificatory sisters of a male.

#### Notes on syntax

As mentioned previously, the common order is possessive classifier + head noun. The order is reversed if modified by insertion of demonstratives.

yá-á-y fawsis → fawsis il yá-á-y *these trousers of mine*

náy-i-y kolaak → kolaak we náy-i-y *the dog of mine*

In sequences of possessives, each (or each + demonstrative) forms immediate constituents with the remainder of the phrase, as indicated in the following noun phrases by a slash:

yimw-á-n / ham-a-r hamwol *our chief's house* ("house-of our-exc-father chief")

wúnúm-á-y eey / túkútúk-ú-n suupwa *this package of cigarettes of mine* ("smoking-mine this package-of tobacco")

pwi-i-n / róónimw-á-y *my brother-in-law* (female speaking), *sister-in-law* (male speaking) ("sibling-of-same-sex-of my-spouse")

naw-ú-n / ney-i-y we pwooss át *grandson of my boss* ("son-of my-son the boss boy")

## 11. OTHER AFFIXES

### Classification

Already discussed are attributive suffixes, object suffixes, and directional suffixes.

Three prefixes, each with allomorphs, are common. They may be symbolized  $\text{Vv}_1\text{kk-}$ , plural and frequentative; *ya-*, causative; and *me-*, quality. Reduplications also are common. The relative order of these affixes and others previously discussed with respect to verb bases is shown in table 8.

Certain other prefixes have noun-marking functions: *haw-* expert; *li-*<sup>1</sup> person, *li-*<sup>2</sup> animal; *liko-* game, sport, toy; *man-* the man who; *réé-* person. These have lexical rather than grammatical meanings.

A few other suffixes will also be discussed. The complicated numerical affixes are described in section 17.

					Stem vowels	
YV <sub>1</sub> kk-	± Caus	± mE	± (B ± Redup)	± +Obj	± Dir	
			hoh-hong			<i>scolding</i>
	ya-	-ma-	-kékk-	-úú-w-e	-ló	<i>shatter</i>
yakk-	-a-		-ppaluw-	-ee-r-é	-ló	<i>teach them navigation completely</i>
yakk-	-a-		-mwif		-wow	<i>go out after</i>

Abbreviations: B = base, Caus = causative, Dir = directional, Obj = object suffix, Redup = reduplication, ± = optionally occurring with, + = obligatorily occurring with.

TABLE 8: BASES AND BOUND AFFIXES

### Reduplications

Reduplication consists of repetition of all or part of a base, with geminate reduction (GR) of bases containing geminate vowels. Common meanings are frequentative, durational, continuing, habitual, or plural action. In the following examples, presented as indication of meaning, the shape of the reduplicated words follows in parentheses, unless the entire word is repeated; the reduplicated elements are capitalized. The bases (B) are to the right of the hyphens. GR indicates that the base contains geminate vowels that are reduced in the reduplicated derivative.

Áa a kán N00-no wóón Polowat. *They once lived on Puluwat.*  
(C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + B)

Liwe ya kán MÉM-mót wóón waa we. *The lady was sitting on the canoe.*  
(C<sub>1</sub>éC<sub>1</sub> + B)

Manúkka e HOH-hong. *People who are always scolding.* (C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub> + (B + GR))

Wuwaato waa mwu wóómw, yi pwe WAA-wa le hááy Hook. *Bring your canoe there, I'll sail it to Pulusuk.* (C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + B)

Yeray raw fakkoy likkáp, likkáp (T2:5). *A whale, very very big.*

A fayl, fayl, fayl, fayl, toofi fuweray át (T1:10). *Then going on and on and on, and came to two boys.*

Some reduplicated bases are used to the total or near total exclusion of single bases. Preference for reduplicated forms is noted for words

classed usually as adjectives in English, such as MÉM-mem *sweet*, PWUL-a-pwul *red*, and YÓL-é-yól *yellow*. Others used only in reduplicated forms include FÉN-é-fénén *appearance*, KÉR-ú-kéf *to grate*, KÚR-o-kúr *orange*.

In emphatic speech, or in citation forms elicited by a linguist, initial consonants may be doubled, a form of reduplication. It is the linguist's task to induce the informant to produce the form in fast speech.

Some reduplicated forms have meanings duplicating those of the bases, as fiir and FIR-i-fir, both meaning *good*.

Reduplicated words meaning *to use, wear, have provisionally* are discussed in section 10.

### Shapes

C<sub>1</sub>-: K-kit *small*

C<sub>1</sub>é-: WÉ-wefiy *to see*  
KÉ-kkay *to laugh*

C<sub>1</sub>i-: LI-llér *to leak*

C<sub>1</sub>ú-: (B GR): tuuk *large package*, tók-ú-tók *small package*

C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>-: FAF-fale *carve*

C<sub>1</sub>éC<sub>1</sub>-: FÉF-fáyiló *to go on and on*  
MÉM-mót *to sit*

C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-: LÁÁ-láy *long*  
LÉÉ-lér *sound*  
WAA-wa *to use a canoe*

C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + (B + GR): LÚÚ-lúw *to chew*

A type of reduplication (C<sub>1</sub>) discovered from the Pis informant in Honolulu is reflexive, e.g. the reference is to the speaker, and this contrasts with the non-reduplicated form that may be either reflexive or non-reflexive. The following examples are from the Pis informant.

Yi pwe ffir lehof. *I'll have my hair cut tomorrow.*

Yi pwe firi lehof. *I'll cut hair tomorrow (mine or someone else's).*

Wu pwe fféf ááy ásayinmen. *I'll do my assignment.*

Wo pwe féfi yááy ásayinmen. *You'll do my assignment.*

Wú pwe ffal wááy wa. *I'll make my canoe.*

Wú pwe falef efór wa. *I'll make a canoe.*

$C_1V_1C_2\check{V}$ :- This shape is common.  $\check{V}$ - is an unstressed excrescent vowel that sometimes assimilates partially or completely to  $V_1$ :

pet, pet-e-pet *shallow*

pwer, pwer-e-pwer *white*

But sometimes is unpredictable:

paf, paf-u-paf *hat, to wear a hat*

Either with or without assimilation of the excrescent vowel, the geminate vowels in the base may be reduced:

yám, yám-i-yám *to trim*

waal, wal-ú-wal *plant*

y- or w- are deleted after consonants if an excrescent vowel is not inserted, as above:

yápel, yápel-epe *loincloth; to wear a loincloth*

woowúh, woowúh-oowúh *blanket; to cover with a blanket*

Very rare is a reduplication of a reduplication:

Wo ha RÓR-RÓNGO-rong aay we KÉK-kéfuk (Pis)? *Didn't you hear me calling you?*

Some words may have several types of reduplication.

Yi wefiy eman át, F-fal-e waa.

FAF-fal-e waa.

FALE-e-fal waa.

The sentences all mean: *I see a man making a canoe.* In the last example, the 'chopping' action may be the emphatic part of the sentence. The base is fal.

Some bases may be reconstructed and are set off by hyphens. From the forms yá-lih-iy and yá-lil-lih *to help* one may reconstruct a base -lih; the initial yá- is a causative. The reduplication is  $C_1V_1C_1$ .

mE-

The many shapes of this morpheme (me-, mé-, ma-, mó-, mwé-, mwa-) are not recognized by native speakers as constituting a morpheme. In this way, they differ from the other affixes listed in table 8, all of which are probably productive. Nevertheless, setting up mE- as a morpheme may be defended on these grounds: (1) Recurrence. (2) In at least two forms, bases are recognizable: mé-hón-ó-hón *quiet* and hón *low*, and mó-lup-ú-lup *flashing* and lupú-lup *bright*. (3) Reduplication of the prefix has been noted only in a single form: mwa-ket-e-ket, mwem-mwa-ket-e-ket *shake*. (4) A common gloss is *quality or state of*. (5) Cognate prefixes occur in a great many, if not most, Austronesian languages.



The following examples have been noted in addition to those already cited: me-ngef-i-ngef *rough*, me-ngif-i-ngif *apprehensive* (Pis), mó-ngef-e-ngef *kinky*, mó-tów-o-tówo *smooth*, mwé-kel-e-kel *spotted*, mwé-táng-i-táng *noisy*.

All the examples are with reduplicated bases. Historically, there would be justification for considering me- in mehak *afraid* and in meták *pain* as the same morpheme, but unlike the forms cited in (2) above, no such forms as \*-hak and \*-ták exist.

#### Causative YA-

The very common causative prefix usually has the meaning *to cause* or *bring about*:

mehak	<i>fear</i>	ya-mehak	<i>to frighten</i>
ppaluw	<i>navigator</i>	ya-ppaluw	<i>to teach him navigation</i>
súkui	<i>school</i>	yó-súkuul	<i>to learn, teach</i>

(This use with a loan word indicates the productive potentials of causatives.)

Some causatives activate a base with meanings that in English are essentially passive, as kkáf *defeated* and ya-kkáf-i-y *to defeat him*, and filimwáng *annoyed* and yá-filimwáng *to annoy*.

Use of a causative with an object suffix may transitive an intransitive base:

Wú ya feyenngaw	feen ewe kolaak (Pis).	<i>I was harmed by the dog.</i>
Wú ya ya-feyenngaw-a	ewe kolaak (Pis).	<i>I harmed the dog.</i>

Most causatives are used as verbs, but a few act as nouns:

llow	<i>disgusting</i>	yó-llow	<i>feces</i>
mwónn	<i>to like</i>	yó-mwónn	<i>bait</i>
peey	<i>trash</i>	ya-pey-i-pey	<i>driftwood</i>

The allomorphs of YA- are ya-, yá-, ye- (rare), and rare yé- and ka-. Ya- is by far the most common, and has been noted with bases containing all vowels except á and ó. Yá- occurs with bases containing front vowels, and yó- with bases containing central and back vowels (except a), as indicated below.

ye-	lip	<i>pour</i>	ye-lipaa-ló	<i>to pour it out</i>
yá-	fiir	<i>good</i>	yá-fir-iy	<i>to like it</i>
	meták	<i>pain</i>	yá-meták-iy	<i>to hurt him</i>
	kkáng	<i>sharp</i>	yá-kkángaa-ló	<i>to sharpen it</i>
ya-	mwif	<i>after</i>	ya-mwif-iy	<i>to follow him</i>
	mehak	<i>fear</i>	ya-mehak-úw	<i>to frighten him</i>
	ngút	<i>packed</i>	ya-ngúti-ló	<i>to pack it full</i>

	<i>léé bottle</i>	<i>ya-léé-léé-w to pour it</i>
	<i>pwah dry</i>	<i>ya-pwah to dry it</i>
	<i>pung correct</i>	<i>ya-pung-ú to correct it</i>
	<i>moot cooked</i>	<i>ya-moot to cook it</i>
yó-	<i>kúf defeated</i>	<i>yó-kúf-a to defeat him</i>
	<i>méll finished</i>	<i>yó-méll-ey to prepare it</i>
	<i>súkúl school</i>	<i>yó-súkúl to teach, learn it</i>

The following have been noted with rare *ka-* (or *kaa-*), as well as *ya-*. This was mentioned in section 1 as exemplifying alternation of *y-* and *k-*.

<i>mwar secure</i>	<i>ya-mwar, ka-mwar to hold</i>
<i>paar attached</i>	<i>ya-par, ka-par to add to or together</i>
<i>puung correct</i>	<i>ya-pung to correct    kaa-pung to judge</i>

#### *YV<sub>1</sub>kk-*, plural, frequentative

In some instances there seems little meaning difference between base and base + *YV<sub>1</sub>kk*, and some forms (such as *w-u-kk-uf* below) have replaced the base (as *wuf*) in common speech. The morphophoneme *Y* is replaced by *w-* before bases beginning with *w-*, and by *y-* before bases beginning with *y-*.

Bases beginning with *y-*:

*y + V<sub>1</sub> + -kk- + B*, with deletion of *y-* of the base, and geminate reduction

*yáál to fly, y-á-kk-ál-e-fetal to keep flying here and there.*

*ya-mwif-wow to cause to follow out (sg.), y-a-kk-amwir-wow (pl.).*

(The formula works for causatives; the causative is formed 'first', and the plural 'later'. (T1:108).

*yafap near, y-a-kk-afap near (T2:40).*

*yet-tiw go west (sg.), y-e-kk-et-tiw (pl.).*

The same formula applies to bases beginning with *w-*, with *w-* replacing every *y-*:

*wún to drink (at a particular time), w-ú-kk-ún to drink (in general).*

*wuf to play, w-u-kk-uf playing*

*wúfa to speak, w-u-kk-úfa to keep talking (T3:19).*

*wúú to stand, w-ú-kk-ú to stand up*

#### Noun-forming prefixes

In this section are discussed the seven prefixes previously mentioned as noun-forming.

haw-, hów-, hód-

Glosses: *skilled or constant practitioner (sometimes in a pejorative sense)*. Forms commonly heard today are haw-kaapung *judge*, haw-kkapah *prophet (Biblical)*, haw-ppwang *slanderer, to slander*, haw-utt *caretaker of a boathouse*, haw-eki-yek *thinker, scientist*. Saw-láng *churchmember, Christian ("heaven expert")*, with the Trukese s-, is heard daily. Rare allomorphs are in hód-waa *canoe caretaker* and hów-a-kék-kay *funny person*. (This is the only form noted preceding the causative and reduplicating morphemes described in previous sections.) More than one base may occur, as haw-pwang-in *imw specialist in righting (an overturned) house* and haw-fala waa *canoe builder*.

li-<sup>1</sup>

Types of persons, as li-hemwaay *sick person*, li-hófoppwang *crazy person*, li-makúfe-pal *bald-headed man*.

li-<sup>2</sup>

Prefix to names of birds (li-ccok, li-hingér), eels (li-wor-i-pwer), fish (li-pper), lizards (li-payipay), shells (li-péépwer), spiders (li-nnápwof).

liko-

This rare prefix with its allomorphs has been noted only as follows:

liko-hhomá *hide and seek ("tow-ghost")*

likó-lú-lúh *skip, hop*

liko-tóów *play, joke, tease*

likóó-tot-tof *dive into the sea*

likó-too-yáng *whirligig ("toy-bring-wind")*

The glosses common to all are *game, amusement*.

man- *the one who*

This common and perhaps productive prefix has the function of nominalizing following verbs or verb-nouns. It is probably the altered form of maan *animal, person*. See mane- and manú- in the *Dictionary* for many examples. Man- is usually followed by an excrescent vowel. A few examples have been noted of its occurrence with a non-animate.

man-e-háling-e-púng *deaf person ("animal ear deaf")*

man-e-nngaw *bad thing*

man-ú-húú-hú *bird ("flying animal")*

man-ú-yit-e-lap *important person*

As these examples indicate, it may be used with compounds. In the following, it is used with an entire sentence:

Ngaang man-ú            waa-wa            waa    we    wó-ó-mw.  
I            the-one-who uses-a-vehicle canoe the your canoe  
I'm the one using your canoe.

This may be considered a surface manifestation of two underlying sentences: Ngaang man-na, *I'm the man*. Yi waa-wa waa we wó-ó-mw, *I'm using your canoe*.

This man- is not to be confused with Trukese meyi (also man or men in the Pis dialect), which may have functions just mentioned for man- in Puluwat, but which also marks verbs: Trukese meyi- wóf *to be* is ye wóf in Puluwat.

réé-

A rare prefix indicative of flat surfaces, probably related to réé *leaf* and -réé, counting classifier for flat objects.

réé-kit *narrow, thin*

réé-lap *wide, thick*

réé-paap *flat*

fee-

Productive prefix indicating human beings. See in the *Dictionary* fee-kúh, fee-lél-lap, fee-long, fee-polowat, fee-sapaan, fee-waaheela, feewóón, fee-wow. See ree-yiya for use as a verb, *person from where?* Ye pwe le fee-sapaanló (Pis). *He will become Japanese*.

#### Affixes in names of people

Many names of people are recognizably masculine or feminine, but otherwise their meanings, if any, are vague and unclear. In a famous legend (T1) the names are didactic (Rongo-lap *very obedient* and Rongo-rik *scarcely obedient*), or have meaning that figures in the stories (Wuung *ridgipole*, or in T3, Li-kere-pwer *Mrs White Rat*, who is a rat). Certain affixes occur with great frequency in the names of real people, and two may occur in a single name, as Pi-yankó-WUR NA-yone-Pii. The remaining (uncapitalized) portions of such names occur, like the cran- in cran-berry, in this unique environment. The analysis here is far from exhaustive; additional recurring morphemes could be discovered.

##### (1) Affixes to male names:

Pi-, as in Pi-itin, Pi-yaaylúk, Pi-yankó-wuf, Pi-yoong, Pi-yu-uf. See also -pii in (4).

Wuf-, as in Wuf-áák, Wuf-umwo (a Puluwat teacher), Wufu-pii, Wuf-upwaak, Wuf-utel (our neighbor, a carpenter). This may be the final -wuf and -uf in two of the names listed as taking Pi-.

##### (2) Prefix to names nearly always male:

Hi-: Hi-ia, Hi-lóól, Hi-pwááf, Hipwówuf (a navigator), Hi-yon (female).

## (3) Prefix to female names:

Li-<sup>3</sup>, as in Li-ihé, Li-kere-pwer (T3), Li-ppi, Li-yáf, Li-yóór. This prefix probably occurs in the common liy-set demonstratives (table 2) for females, and in a word for female babies, likkó.

Na-, Ná-, Nay-, Ne- + B ± fáán, as in Ná-kawúkúman, Na-lúkéké-fáán, Ná-tiw-fáán, Na-yefú-pi, Nay-komwan, Nay-yone-pii, Ne-fatikimwo (T3), Ne-peey-fáán, Ne-wo-fáán, Ne-fááni-man.

## (4) Suffix to male (m) and female (f) names:

-pii: Yike-pii (m), Lúkú-pii (m), Malle-pii (m), Mannú-pi (m, the Puluwat magistrate), Na-yone-pii (f), Nay-foo-pii (f).

-yóól: Tilime-yóól (m, my principal informant, always known as Tilime), Yike-pii-yóól (m). Many tales concern Yóól and his wife Yóót.

## Other suffixes

-ccip *restlessly*

See mawúfeccip, wonoccip.

-eet-, -iit-

Gloss: *directly to*, usually with verbs of motion and followed by the third singular object pronoun.

fatúl-eet-i-y *paddle directly to it*

fayi-riki-rik-iit-i-y *hurry directly to it*

hefák-iit-i-y *sail directly to it*

hú-riki-rik-iit-i-y *flee directly to it* (hu-riki-rik-iit-i-y

imwáni pin *run directly to the church*)

yó-fuuwó-fuuw-eet-i-y *hurry directly to*

-fehánng

Glosses: *separate, distinct, different*.

fayili-fehánng *to go in separate ways*

húú-fehánng *leave in different ways*

neemwéwú-fehánng *to separate*

weli-fehánng *to be different*

-fehánng, which is probably productive, takes both attributive suffixes (N1/i/) and object suffixes (V/i/): Mwifin fáyili-fehánngi-mám, yááy a ruungiy eray feewóón. *After our (excl) separation, I met a foreigner. Hááleti-y-fehánng-i-y pukopukon ólóól éna. Separate the knots in that sennit.*

-féngann

Glosses: *together, with*. An excrescent vowel is rarely if ever inserted before -f in derivatives with this suffix. See also -ppaat.

kkapah-féngann *speak together*

pwii-pwi-féngann *to be brothers or friends*

ruu-féngann *meet together*

tipeew-féngann *agree*

yakúw-féngann *play baseball together* (this loan from Japanese indicates the productivity of this suffix).

-féngann takes object suffixes (V/i/): ya a yóónek-féngann-ii-f *he spoke together with them. Yeikiyek-féngann-i-y ponder or discuss together.*

#### -fetál

Glosses: *here and there, everywhere.*

fatúl-fetál *paddle here and there*

kúтта-fetál (T3:7) *look everywhere*

yengaang-fetál *work everywhere*

yengaang-fetále-ló (Pis) *work completely everywhere.*

See also -ppaat, T1:24.

#### -ffat

Glosses: *without result, profit, pleasure, encombrance.*

The translation depends on context; many translations are possible.

fáyili-ffat *go without a burden or weapon, go naked*

hefák-ffat *sail without food*

hoomá-ffat *rascal, joker ("useless-ghost")*

mááf-ffate-tá *grow without being planted, as papayas*

mwéngé-ffat *eat only one thing, without accompany food (hááliy)*

no-ffat *stay without working or profit*

wayilé-ffat *fish without result*

yengaang-ffat *work without pay or benefit*

#### -kkit small

This suffix is separated from a base ending in a consonant by an excrescent vowel, usually e. It is heard constantly in the name for children yát-e-kkit. (Compare kit-i-kit *small*.)

hamwol-e-kkit *lesser chief*

man-e-kkit *small person or thing*

yalú-kkit *youth*

yimw-e-kkit *small house*

#### -lap<sup>1</sup>

Glosses: *large, important, old, true.*

Derivatives formed with -lap are compounds and written as one word because they fill the first stipulation by which sequences of bases are classified as compounds (section 3): the sequence base + lap may take

attributive suffixes, as *yit-e-lap important name or person* and *yit-e-lap-á-n important word of*. An excrescent vowel, usually *e*, separates the base and the suffix.

The following derivatives are noted:

*cillap old man*

*ham-e-lap true father* (from *haam classificatory father*)

*lúk-ú-lap-a-n fanú back side of an island* (from *lúk- outside*)

*mwáán-e-l-lap old man* (from *mwáán-e-n man of + lap*; *-n + l-* becomes *-ll-*, see section 2).

*wutt-e-lap community house*

*yinek-i-lap mother* ("*large body*")

*yin-e-lap true mother* (from *yiin classificatory mother*)

*yit-e-lap key or base word* (from *yiit name*)

*-lap*<sup>2</sup>

A vague, non-productive suffix with meanings *to disobey, squander*. See *Dictionary*, *-lap*, and note to T1.

*-oo*

As an exclamation of affection or recognition, vowels and long vowels may be affixed to names of places and people, and spoken with rising pitch level, then rather sharply cut off. The suffixed vowel occurs within the name. People looking at photographs would invariably exclaim happily the names of places recognized, usually with this suffix. Persons calling others at some distance usually add the suffix. While walking in the forest, a Puluwat suddenly recognized his brother's land, and exclaimed *fanúwán pwíiy-oo! my (classificatory) brother (or mother's brother's) land*. T3 starts out: *Nonooló wóón Polowat-oo! eray mwáán. Once upon a time there lived on old Pulowat a man*. (The *old* is an attempt at suggesting the affection implied in the original.) In the following, no attempt is made to translate the suffix.

Examples of places:

*Namoccik-ii Lamotrek*

*Pwollap-aa Pulap*

*Hatawaan-aa Satawal*

*Ruuk-uu Truk*

*Hook-oo Pulusuk*

*Moculong-oo Mortlocks*

Examples of names of people:

*Baasi-i Basilus*

*Sam-aa Sam*

*Mafistela-a Maristella*

*-ppaat*

Glosses: *continually, constantly, varied*. All derivatives are restricted (section 19). An excrescent vowel usually separates bases ending in consonants and a following *-ppaat*.

kin-é-ppaat *varied, assorted* (kin-i-kin part)  
 kkapah-a-ppaat *to speak constantly* (kkapah *to speak*)  
 lél-lal-é-ppaat *to chatter* (lal *to speak*)  
 mehámáhán mwéngé-ppaat (T3:47) *all kinds of food*  
 yeki-ppaat *to have varied thoughts*  
 yengang-é-ppaat *continually working*

-Ppaat may be followed by directional suffixes, -féngann, or -fetál:  
 lél-lal-é-ppaat-féngann *chatter constantly together*, lél-lal-é-ppaat-fetál *chatting constantly everywhere*, lél-lal-éppaat-e-ló *just chatting constantly* (Pis). See mahappaat.

-ppak, -ppakúw

Glosses: *at the same time, together, simultaneously*, usually suffixed to the third singular transitive stem vowel.

fayil-i-ppak *go together, side-by-side*  
 fééf-i-ppakúw *do at the same time*  
 fit-i-ppakúw *go at the same time*  
 wuwoo-w-ppak-á-ló (Pis) *to carry off together*  
 yapaha-ppakú-w *talk at the same time*

Compare the manner particle ppak, section 14.

-pwut *disliked*

See in the *Dictionary* fááli-pwut, máá-pwut, róó-pwut, wóó-pwut, yimwa-pwut, yó-pwut.

-r

This particle marking uncertainty has many other shapes and is discussed with yéér in section 14.

-rik

A vague non-productive suffix with meanings *to save, obey, follow instructions*. See *Dictionary*, -rik, T1.

-yakin-, -yekin-

Glosses: *take with, as person or things; accompany*.

This suffix commonly occurs with verbs of motion and is followed by object or directional suffixes, or both. It is separated from a following consonant by an excrement vowel or vowels.

Fatil-ákin-á-tá mááy kka yáney wóón Polowat. *Paddle with my breadfruit food there to Pulawat.*

Řa a hú-yekin-aa-ló fáylól. *They swiftly carried it off to the bottom /a fish with a hook/.*

In the following it is a transitive verb:

Wuwétiy áteen e pwe fáyl-i-yákin-i-k-o-ló. *Wait for that boy who will go with you.*



## 12. PREPOSITIONS

## Inventory

The prepositions introduce noun phrases, or themselves constitute one-word noun phrases. They are of three types: those taking attributive suffixes, called preposition-nouns; those taking object suffixes, called preposition-verbs; and the uninflected prepositions. Those uninflected are particles, but those inflected are full words. Preposition-nouns and preposition-verbs are so-named because they function more commonly as prepositions than as nouns or verbs. One of them, *hángi*, takes verb inflections but cannot function as a verb.

Semantically, they may be grouped as locatives, temporals, agentives, and comitatives. Some of them belong to more than one of these categories.

The complete list follows:

		Locative	Temporal	Agentive	Comitative
Preposition-nouns	fa-	x	x	x	
	lE	x	x		
	le-pet	x			
	lúk-	x			
	mmw-	x	x		
	mwif	x	x		
	fe-	x		x	x
	wenel-	x			
	wenik-	x			
	wenimmw-	x			
	wó-	x			x
Preposition-verbs	háng-	x			
	ngan-	x			
	toof-	x			
Uninflected prepositions	llón	x	x		
	mE	x		x	x
	ngÉ			x	x
	riiy	x			
	ruun	x			
	ween	x			
	weey	x			
	weni	x			
	wuway	x			

The third singular form of both preposition-verbs and preposition-nouns is used before other nouns: as *háng-i Ruuk from Truk*, *fe-e-n Rongorik with, by Rongorik*.

A count of the frequency of the various prepositions in T3 (a tale) and T4 (a conversation) follows:

	Times noted		Respective
	T3:1-100	T4:1-39	percentages of totals
mE	36	5	31/14
wó-	31	10	27/27
lloŋg	14	7	12/20
fe-	10	8	9/23
lE	9	1	8/3
fa-	5	1	4/3
ngan-	4	1	3/3
háŋg-	4	0	3/0
toof-	2	0	2/0
lúk-	1	0	1/0
mwif	0	1	0/3
mmw-	0	1	0/3
	<u>116</u>	<u>35</u>	

#### Preposition-nouns

##### fa- and fá-á-n

Glosses: *under, below, beneath, down, west of, in, less than, by (in fighting)*. The common preposition is fá-á-n or its alternate fá-á-y (homophonous with the first singular form meaning *below me* (N6/á/)). Phrases with fa- are locative, temporal, and agentive. Third singular fá-á-n occurs before a terminal juncture and functions as a one-word phrase.

Fá-á-n Polowat. *West of Puluwat.*

Fá-á-n Meey. *In May (month).*

Ya a púŋg fa-a-n. *He fell down.*

Ya a no fa-a-n. *He is downstairs, below.*

Pwiiy a kitikit fá-á-y. *My younger (classificatory) brother.*  
 ("my-classificatory brother is small below-me")

Mwéŋgeyómw e kitikit fó-ó-mw. *Your younger (classificatory) sister*  
 (woman speaking to man).

Wo má fa-a-f (T2:66). *You will be killed by the others.*

Re háán má mwo fá-á-n eray (T2:71). *They had not yet been defeated*  
*by a single person. ("they not defeat yet below-him one-animate")*

Ya fakkon lling fá-á-n mwáfemw. *You are very handsome with the*  
*lei. ("is very beautiful beneath-it your-lei")*

## 1E

Glosses: *in, inside, at, among, of them, because of*. The semantic slots are locative and temporal.

The allomorphs include *le, lee, ley-, lá-, lé, lo, and ló*. *Lá* occurs before *á*, *lé* before central vowels, *lo* before *u* and *o*, *ló* before *ó*, *ley-* before attributive suffixes, and *le* or *lee* elsewhere. *le* and *lee* seem to vary freely.

1E frequently enters into compounds (section 3); they have a total meaning unpredictable from the sum of the meanings of the constituents (*lotow west* from *tow to enter*, perhaps with reference to the sun setting in the west).

Compounds with 1E- fill numerous syntactic slots:

As verb: *Róópwt fá a lee-pwél. Women worked in the taro gardens. ("women they perfective in-taro-garden")*. *Hi pwe lehet. We're going fishing. ("we future in-sea")*.

As noun: *Ya ccówo lo-opwáy. My heart is sad. ("is heavy in-my-heart")*.

As a one-word locative phrase: *Ya a no le-pet-án. He stayed in the middle*. This sentence can be expanded to include two heads, each a construction with 1E: *Ya no le-pet-án le efáng me lee-fek. He stayed between the season with few breadfruit and the principal breadfruit season*.

The allomorph *ley-* precedes the third singular and the plural attributive suffixes (N1/i/): *ley-i-n, ley-i-r, ley-i-mám, ley-i-mi, ley-ii-f*. These forms frequently accompany the interrogative *yifa*, the combination being glossed *which of several?*

*Yifa ley-i-n ekkeey pwuk (Ulul)? Which of these books?*

(The third person plural *ley-ii-f* may replace *ley-i-n*, but usually only to emphasize plurality, as by pointing to several objects.)

A few sequences with 1E follow. Additional forms and more complete definitions are in the *Dictionary*.

*lá átilit-. In the forehead corners. (< yátilit-)*

*le efáng. Season with few breadfruit. (< yefáng)*

*lee-fán. By day, in the day. (< fáán)*

*lee-fek, lee-fák. Principle breadfruit season. (< fáák)*

*le-tip-. In the heart, heart. (< tilp)*

*le-het. In the sea, sea; to go fishing or to the sea. (< háát)*

*le-wúw. In the throat, throat. (< wúw)*

*le hóópwuniyól. Late afternoon*

*lo-opw. In the heart. (< wuupw)*

*loo-wumw. In the oven.*

*lo-pwong. In the night, night.*

*lo-wutt. In the boathouse, boathouse.*

Two sentences are sometimes joined by 1E.

Yáámem áy a fakkon mehak. *We are very much afraid.*

Yáámem áy a fáyiló. *We went.*

Yáámem                      áy                      a                      fakkon mehak    lee yá-á-mem fáyi-ló.  
*we, independent we, subject perf. very afraid in our go-away*  
 pronoun                      pronoun  
*We are afraid to go.*

Áa a méll me feen ofoof lee kútt ngé haaf. *They have finished looking on the pier, but there aren't any /fish/.*

Yi ya mmwáál le yihallóong. *I was mistaken in the filing.*

le-pet- and le-pet-án

This common preposition-noun (N6/e/) consists of the preposition le- plus a bound -pet-, with locative glosses *between, in the middle*. It is inflected in the third singular and in all the plural forms: le-pet-a-n, le-pet-a-r, le-pet-e-mám, le-pet-á-mi, le-pet-ee-f; in slow speech, lee-pet-an.

Le-pet-an pwóóf. *Between the boxes.*

Yengaay pinsél mwu ye no le-pet-ar. *Give me that pencil (near you) that is between us.*

lúk- and lúk-ú-n

Glosses: *outside, beyond, in addition, beside (as a sick person)*. The common locative preposition is lúk-ú-n, N2.

Lúk-i-y. *Beside me, by me.*

Lúk-ú-úf. *Beyond them, beside them.*

Lúk-ú-n utt (T1:168). *Outside the boathouse.*

Lúk-ú-n fanú. *Windward section of an island.*

Ye no lúk-ú-n. *He stays outside.*

Yi ya fáyiló lúk-ú-n Samison pwe yika ya a hemwaay. *I am staying with Samson because he's sick.*

Also, T2:70.

mmw-

Glosses: *first, ahead, in front, than*.

mmw- is classed as a preposition-noun, as it takes noun endings (N6/Ø/), yet it functions only as preposition and as verb.

Pwiin likkáp mmwómw. *Your older brother.*

Wo pwe le fáyilo mmweef. *You go ahead of them.*

Yii ye lááláy mmwá-y. *He is taller than I.*

Yi pwe feyito mmw-a-n aan e pwe pwoong (Pis). *I'll come before it's getting dark.*

Also, T4:36.

mwif- and mwif-i-n

Glosses: *after, behind, later, afterwards*. mwif-i-n is a common locative and temporal preposition, N1(i).

Yá-mwif-i mwif-i-y. *Follow after me*. (The same base takes causative and object affixes.)

Pwuhuló mwif-i-mw. *Missing you*.

Mwif-i-n iimw. *Behind the house*.

Fáyito mwif-i-n. *Come later*.

Lé mwif-ii-f. *Go behind them*.

Also, T1:128.

fe- and fe-e-n

Glosses: *with, to, by, because of, due to, about, concerning*.

The common preposition is fe-e-n or its alternate fe-e-y, homophonous with the first singular *for me, because of me* (N1/e/). Positional slots filled are comitative, agentative, and locative (rare).

Ye haaf fe-e-y. *I have none*. ("it none with-me")

Yi ya fáyiló fe-e-n imwáni pin. *I went to the church*.

Ra a kkapah fe-e-n kóngorik (T1:54). *They spoke with kóngorik*.

Pen a ayiti nganlif efemah fe-e-n engangan koowap. *Ben explained to the people about the work of cooperatives*.

Pen e há fiti mwiir, fe-e-n aan hemwaay. *Ben didn't go to the meeting because of his sickness*.

Kiir ha a fakkon ngolongol fe-a-n hamwol. *We were praised a lot by the chief*.

Kiir ha a fakkon ngolongol fe-e-n pwááy. *We praised a lot the dancing*. /We were praised a lot for dancing/.

Re-e-n often follows the preposition me, usually translated by an English passive voice. Yii mené pwá me fe-e-n paluwan (Pis). *He was seen by his wife*. ("he was appear from by-her his-wife"). Wow ongeey me fe-e-n iyé, yena mooni (Pis)? *From (with) whom did you get that money?* ("you get from by-him who that money").

meeta ... fe-e-n? *Why? What for?* Meeta ya fáyito feewóón ikeyy fe-e-n? *Why has the foreigner come here?* ("what did come foreigner here for-it"). A variant is ngé fe-e-n meeta (T3:106) *what of it; it's all right*.

wenel- and wenel-o-n

Glosses: *in front of, directly before*.

Yekkanan tafakú fe nó m wenel-ó-n enaan iimw (Pis). *Those cars are in front of those houses*.

Yimwán paatefe e no wenel-o-mám. *The father's house is in front of us*.

wenikk- and wenekk-ú-n (N2)

Glosses: *beside, on the side of.*

Fáyito wollo wenikk-i-y. *Come and lie down beside me.*

Wenikk-ú-n paap. *Side of the board.*

Hóttó minomwu yááy wenikk-ú-mw. *Give me my thing that's beside you.*

wenimmw- and wenimmw-á-n

Gloss: *in front of.*

The N6(é) base is probably a portmanteau ween on + mmw- *first, ahead.* The two previous prepositions (wenel-, wenikk-) may also contain a form of ween.

Payitaaló tifom kaan me wenimmw-á-n átenaan. *Throw away that drum from in front of that man.*

Neniyen mákk eey e no wenimmw-á-y. *This typewriter is in front of me.*

Yi pwe le fáylíló wenimmw-ee-f. *I'm going to them.*

Wenimmw-ó-mw itto yikeey! *Welcome here! ("in-front-of-you come here").*

wó- and wó-ó-n

Glosses: *on, above, among, on top of, over, in, at, to, aboard (as a ship).*

The common locative preposition is wó-ó-n and its alternate wó-ó-y, homophonous with the first person singular *on me* (N1/ó/). Some meanings are idiomatic.

Ree-wó-ó-n. *Foreigner. ("upper person")*

Wó-ó-n ceepel. *On the table.*

Wó-ó-n ikeey. *Here. ("on-it here")*

Wó-ó-y hapwóy. *In my village.*

Ya wúttútt wó-ó-f. *Chosen from among them.*

Hí pwe ruu wó-ó-n eray ilk. *We will share a single fish.*

Yi pwe yafalafal wó-ó-mí. *I will address you.*

Wó-ó-n and wó-ó-y are used idiomatically (often rudely) after *tip-heart, feelings* in sense of *just cause*: Yi háá nganeef; yéér úú tipáy, wó-ó-y liyapen waay. *I'm not giving them any, just cause it's my canoe catch. Kéér tipáy wó-ó-n étenán wááy pwula. Just cause it's my own canoe load of taro.*

## Preposition-verbs

*háng-* and *hángi* *from*

*Háangi* seems to be unique among words taking the object suffixes in that it does not occur as a verb. As indicated below, *hángi* (V/i/) fills preposition slots and acts as a one-word locative phrase.

*Háng-i Ruuk. From Truk.*

*Háng-i yeew toofi heeyik. From one to ten.*

*Háng-i yiyé minneey? Hangik-i-r. From whom is this thing? From us.*

*Yi yitto heng-ii-f (Pis). I came from them.*

*ngan-*, *ngan-i-y*, *ngan-e-y to*

This common word is both preposition V(i) and V(e), and has a third singular alteraate *ngan-a-a* before *mwo*, *no*, *rak* (*nganaa* in *Dictionary*).

*Lome ngan-i-y áfán utt owe (Tl:37). Tied to the post of the boathouse.*

*Yaáap ngan-e-y mwóór ewe. Near to the pass.*

*Yi háá ngan-ee-f. I'm not giving them /any/.*

It frequently follows verbs: *Yi /pwe/ yatipa ngan-i laayif. I will slice it with a knife.*

*toof-* and *toof-i*

As a locative preposition, the glosses are *until*, *as far as*, *to*.

*Ya a fáyiló toof-i-y Ruuk. He went to (and reached) Truk. Ya a fáyiló Ruuk. He went to Truk.*

*Yi ya yengaang hángi kúlók ttiw toof-i kúlók heeyik. I worked from nine o'clock to ten o'clock.*

Also Tl:54.

## Uninflected prepositions

The uninflected prepositions include very common *llón* and *mE*, a rare use of *ngé*, and the many substitutes for *wó-ó-n*.

*llón*, *llóy*

Glosses: *on top of*, *on*, *in*.

*Llón utt ewe (Tl:42). In the boathouse.*

*Llón mefam ewe. During the last month.*

*Ye wóf llón. There are in it.*

*Ra há mwerán téétá no me llón raan ewe, fa pwe le mawúftiwe rak llóy raan iwe (Tl:40). They didn't want to climb up any more from the water, they would just lie down in the water.*

mE

This preposition, so common in the texts, occurs in many positions and has many glosses. Some of these are listed. (N = noun or substitute, NP = noun phrase).

- (1) N + mE + N, NP: *and, including*

Hamwol ekkana me yefemah ekkana. *Those chiefs and those people.*

Heeyik me limoow. *Fifteen. ("ten and five")*

Yekús me yekús (Pis). *Little by little.*

Yiif me fuwarey (Pis). *Two of them. ("they including two-animate")*

Yeen me yiyá (Pis). *You with whom?*

Sasingem me yaay we friend (Pis). *Our picture with our friend.*

Mine fiir me fuwoow. *Both are good. ("thing good with two").*

This may be viewed as a development from two sentences: mine fiir *it is good* and yiif me fuwoow *they including two*; yiif as the subject is dropped, leaving the prepositional phrase me fuwoow.

- (2) mE + N: *with, from, in, at*

Yi pwe ló me hemeey (Pis). *I'll go with my father.*

Wo fáyiló me yiya? *Where have you come from?*

Ye kan ló fiti fáál me Yamefika (Pis). *He used to go to church in America.*

Yehaaf meet ú pwe feefi me yikeey (Pis). *There's nothing I'll do here.*

Wuwaato me limoow (Pis). *Bring five of them.*

Also, T3:98.

- (3) N + mE + terminal juncture: *and also?*

Cón mé, Pen mé, fa a fáyito. *John and Ben and /who else/? came.*

Meeta yee ye pwe yówot leyin wuulong mé, waa mé, waa mé, waa mé (T3:101)? *What is that that shall be put into the great calabash and canoe and canoe and /what else/?*

Llóy fánin kkaan mé (T3:37). *In those future days and /when else?/.*

- (4) mE + locative prepositions lE, llón, fe-, wenimmwán, wó- + N: *in, on, from.*

Neniyáy mee le yewán pááwo. *My place in the shark's mouth.* Also, T1:69.

Ye mááló me llón ekkéwe fuwoo yiif me llómw (Pis). *He died two years ago. ("he die at in those two year at before").* Also, T1:40.

me + fe-e-n: see T1:34.

Kútt únúmar raan me wó-ó-n ppi yena (T1:87). *Look for our drinking water on that sand spit.*

Payitaaló tifom kaan me wenimmwán átenaan. *Throw away that drum from in front of him.*



(5) mE + agentive preposition *fe-* + N: *by* (This is a common way to translate an English passive voice.)

Yii mené pwá me *fe-e-n* puluwan (Pis). *He was seen by his wife.*

(6) mE + verb phrase: *and*. This use is as a conjunction.

Fáyili fáyili me wúúló. Fáyili me ya kán úúló (T3:21). *And then stopped. And then did stop.*

Meeta wo hán méllé mwo me yáiyek minewe wúfa (T3:48)? *Why haven't you yet asked about what was discussed?*

Also, T3:22.

ngE *and, because*

ngE is usually a conjunction, but occasionally introduces noun phrases: Yepé haakk nge tuppwon eray, yepé haakk nge tuppwon eray (T3:117). *A half shell and the contribution of one person, a half shell and the contribution of one person.*

Wo te niyeló manna, ngé manú kikkill. *Don't kill that bird, for /it is a/ bird with an ownership sign.*

Miscellaneous uninflected prepositions glossed *on, on top of, in* (a canoe)

riiy: riyy nú. *Up a coconut tree.*

ruun: ruun mááy. *On top of a breadfruit tree. Ruuni waa. In a canoe.*

ween, weey: Ween fán eey. *On this land. Weey tam (Pis). On the outrigger float.*

weni: Weni fanú. *Ashore. Weni ppi. On the sand spit. Wenipúkúw, name of the southern point of Puluwat Islet inner lagoon. ("on-point"). An opposite point is Wonupúkúw; wonu- seems not used in other contexts.*

wuyay: Wuway háát. *On the sea.*

#### Mutually substitutable prepositions

In some environments, some prepositions are mutually substitutable without change of total meaning.

wó-ó-n and *fe-e-n*: Hi pwe yekiyekféngaan \_\_\_\_\_ yaar engaang. *We will think ABOUT our work. Meeta yóómw engaang \_\_\_\_\_? What are you working ON?*

wó-ó-n, ngan-i-y, and llón: Yi pwe fáyiló \_\_\_\_\_ Ruuk. *I'll go TO Truk.*

wó-ó-n and ruun: \_\_\_\_\_ wa. *IN a canoe.*

llón and fa-a-n: \_\_\_\_\_ mefam ewe. *DURING the last month.*

## 13. VERB MARKERS

## Inventory

The verb markers may be characterized as scanty: one marker fills many roles. The affirmative markers *ya*, perfective, and *pwE*<sup>1</sup>, and *le*<sup>2</sup>, future/exhortative, do most of the essential affirmative work, and the commonest negative marker is *há*. Unmarked verbs are non-future (see below for translations by English past and imperative).

	Affirmative	Negative
Perfective	<i>ya</i>	<i>há</i> ... (no), <i>háán</i> ... <i>mwo</i> , he <i>ppán</i> ... (mwo)
Future/exhortative	<i>pwE</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>le</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>pwaapw</i>	<i>hóp</i> ( <i>ppán</i> ) ... (mwo) (no)
Imperatives	<i>mwo</i>	<i>te</i>
Non-future	Ø	same as perfective and future/exhortative

The frequency of the verb markers in the narrative (T3) and in the conversation (T4) follow:

	Times occurring T3:1-100	T4:1-39	Respective percentages of totals
<i>ya</i> , perfective	147	20	57/42
<i>pwe le</i> , immediate future	50	5	20/10
<i>pwE</i> <sup>1</sup> , future/exhortative	36	13	14/27
<i>há</i> , negative	18	7	7/15
<i>háán</i> ... <i>mwo</i>	4	1	2/2
<i>te</i> , negative imperative	4	2	2/4
<i>hóp</i> , negative	1	0	0/0
	<hr/> 260	<hr/> 48	<hr/> 102/100

## Perfectives

Affirmative *ya*

*ya* is the most common of all the particles in the language. Its contractions with preceding subject pronouns are listed in section 4. It is usually translatable by English past, present, exhortative, future, or future perfect (with reference to a future state or condition). Translations in secondary clauses sometimes differ from those in primary clauses.

The texts are replete with examples translated by English past, and the examples here indicate other meanings.

Yi ya kiililó. *I'm hungry.*

Ha a mwéngé. *Let's eat.* (But hi ya mwéngé we ate; ha, first person plural inclusive pronoun, occurs only before a in its exhortative meaning.)

Before numerals, ya may have the meanings *is, has become*: Ya a iimoow yiyéfé. *It's been five years; five years ago.*

ya in secondary clauses

Lipwan e pwe yettá háyin Piik, ha a woraar woong. *When the Pikelot canoe comes, we'll eat turtle.* (ha we + ya, perfective.)

Ye pwe yekúh ngaa rak, ya hoow waa we. *In just a little time, the canoe will have left.*

In the two above examples, the translation of ya by future and future perfect is necessitated by the future/exhortative pwe<sup>1</sup> in the primary clause. In other words, perfective ya is aspectual and is neutral as to tense. Yet there can be both future and past translations of ya in the secondary clause if no pwe<sup>1</sup> occurs in the primary clause: Mwifin yaan wes sukuul, ya a ló túkken (Pis). *After he finishes school, he'll go to bathe; after he finished school, he went to bathe.* Only with pwe<sup>1</sup> is a future translation mandatory: Mwifin yaan wes sukuul, ye pwe ló túkken (Pis). *After he finishes school, he'll go to bathe.*

Negatives: há ... (no), háán ... mwo, he ppán ... (mwo)

The usual negative occurring between subject pronouns and manner particles and verbs is há. The vowels in há may fluctuate in fast speech as indicated below; hi we (plural inclusive) + há + hi yA per morpho-phonemic rule 11 (section 2).

há: Yi há kúleey. *I don't know.*

he: Mwááneellap ewe e he pwale yáreeló --- *The old man again did not throw away --- Ye ha tá. It doesn't fit.*

ha: Ha mina? *Don't /you/ see?*

hú: fúú hú mwakét. *Immovable star, North Star.* (Some speakers say fúú he mwakét.)

ho: Wo ho mwerán fáyló? *Don't you want to go? Yaw ho tá. You don't fit.*

a: Hi ya kúleey. *We don't know.*

e: Hi ye rúwan kúleey. *We still don't know.*

In a secondary clause, a double negative sometimes is heard: Ye haaf suupwa fé há nganeef. *They had no cigarettes to give them. ("it were-no tobacco they not-perfective give-them")*

The Pis informant gave this pair: Ye haaf tamak o hé ngenliif? *Haven't you tobacco to give them? ("it is-none tobacco you not-perfective give-them")*. Ye haaf tamak o ngeniif? *Did you give them any tobacco? ("it is-none tobacco you give-them")*.

há ... no no longer

Háán ... mwo not yet

Yi he sense no (Ulul). *I'm no longer a teacher.*

Yi he sense mwo. *I'm not yet a teacher.*

Ye háán méllé mwo. *It is not yet finished.*

Hi yáán mákkey mwo. *We haven't written yet.*

Wolowe ye há wefiifo no. *The man no longer sees them.*

Also, Tl:40.

he ppán ... mwo seems to be a strong negative. Yi he ppán mwo fituk (Pis). *I certainly won't go with you.* (In the Pis dialect, mwo may precede as well as follow the verb.)

#### Future/exhortative

Affirmatives: pwe<sup>1</sup>, le<sup>2</sup>, pwaapw

Yi pwe fáyiló. *I'm going.*

Wo pwe fáyiló. *Go away.*

Yi pwe le fáyiló. *I'm going immediately.*

Yi pwaapw fáyiló. *I'll go later.*

Re pwe hapeeyitiy (Tl:16). *They would have to tack.* (Note regressive vowel assimilation.)

Yi pwo oray. *I'll eat /as fish/. (Note regressive vowel assimilation.)*

Yaw le etto ... yaw pwe le etto (Tl:105). *Come on ... do come.*

Wo lee ló yee! *Go, eh!* (Common farewell to one leaving.)

Yi pw angiy péénin. *I'll eat its flesh.*

Yi pwe yemen sense. *I will become a teacher.* (Pwe here has the function of verbalizing what is usually a noun, as well as indicating a future/exhortative tense; one might gloss this pwe *will-become*.)

le<sup>2</sup> indicates the immediate future, pwaapw later actions. le occurs most commonly after pwe; without a following pwe it occurs only after the second singular and plural subject pronouns, as wo le fáyiló, yaw le fáyiló. *You /singular, plural/ are going.*

Pwe<sup>1</sup> also has a connotation *to be approximately, about*: Ye pwe wó limman. *There will be about five people.* Kúlók fitoow? Ye pwe kúlók waluw. *What time is it? About eight o'clock.*

Negatives: hópw (ppán) ... (mwo)  
(no)

Yi hópw fáyiló. *I'm not going.* Hi ópw fáyiló. *We're not going.*

Wó hópw hú (T3:66). *Don't go away.* (Note the translations by both future and imperative.)

Ye hópw wafe mwo (Pis). *He hasn't come yet.* Yi hópw ppán mwo fituk (Pis). *I won't go with you yet.* (The Pis informant says this may be construed as rude; his dialect places mwo before the verb.)

Yi hópw tofaa mwo. *I haven't arrived yet.*

Yi hópw fáyiló no túútú. *I'm not going to swim any more.*

hópw as an impersonal verb

As an impersonal verb, hópw occurs only after the third singular ye.

Cón e hópw róón sukuul (Ulul). *John is not a student.*

Ye hópw iiy róón sukuul, ngé yiyeen a róón sukul (Ulul). *He was not a student, but now is is a student.*

Hapw iiy. *Not he.*

### Imperatives

mwo, tE

The affirmative imperative mwo differs from the other verb markers in that it follows the verb: Yamwusaaló mwo. *Excuse me.* Limetaa mwo yikkéwe (T4:3). *Explain the things.* Wo té ér féffáyiló kéewow. *Don't go then to kéewow.*

The negative tE occurs in primary clauses (wo te fáyiló *don't go*) and in hópw ... te constructions in secondary clauses with meaning *lest*, or: Yi hópw fáyiló yi te hemwaay. *I'm not going lest I get sick.* Wo hópw noono wo te hemwaay. *Don't stay or you'll get sick.*

TE and hópw in the negative imperative are interchangeable, but hópw also indicates the future. The allomorph tee is heard before stressed monosyllables: Wo tee ló. *Don't go.*

Ta is an allomorph of tE: Wo ta apúngaaló aham. *Don't close the door.*

### Unmarked verbs

Unmarked verbs are common, especially after silence of a terminal juncture. They may be translated past or imperative; e.g. non-future.

Noonoló wóón Polowato, yeray mwáán (T3:1). *A man lived on old Puluwat.*

Fáyito, fáyito yikeey. *Come, come here.*

Yi kiililó. *I'm hungry.*

A second kind of unmarked verb follows directly verbs expressing locomotion, ability, desire.

Yitto mwéngé. *Come and eat.*

Yi há toongani mwéngé. *I can't eat.*

Yi mwerán mwéngé. *I want to eat.*

Is there a difference between perfective *ya* and  $\emptyset$  as verb markers? In T4:20, speaker S says *Ya a wúfa pwe he said* with perfective *a*, and in T4:29 speaker Y asks: *Meeta ye wúfa what did he say* and speaker S answers in 30: *Meeta ye wúfa minnan iiy what he said, this thing*. The difference seems slight; in the tales *ya a wúfa pwe he said* is the preferred form, but both are noted.

Verbs marked  $\emptyset$  might in some contexts be timeless, whereas verbs marked *ya* might refer to a specific event or state, somewhat as the difference between *I drink beer* and *I drank the beer*. Thus, *yí killiló I'm hungry* and *Yí ya killiló I was hungry; I became hungry*.

#### 14. MANNER PARTICLES

##### Inventory

A classification of these varied, heterogeneous particles, some of which are extremely common, is according to environments.

Particles usually preceding verbs (16)      Particles following verbs (3)

fakkon, fakkoy

kán, káy<sup>1</sup>

kán, káy<sup>2</sup>

kéláán

kkon

mwongé

peyin

pwakln, pwakli<sup>1</sup>

pwakln, pwakli<sup>2</sup>

reen

rúwan, rúway

wiihen

wuwétin ... mwo, wétin

yámway

yan

yen

mwo

ppak

yee

Particles in construction with  
diverse classes (5)

féf

fóton

pwai, pway

rak

yéér

Expletive (1)

nayilúk

The alternate forms in this inventory (such as *fakkoy*) seem to be in as common use as the forms listed first (as *fakkon*).

The heterogeneous class of particles in construction with various word classes seems unavoidable in this kind of analysis, and suggests Gleason's (1965:130) 'cross-cutting classification', which, he says, 'is necessary in several places [in English], and so should be considered as quite normal'. (He is referring to such English words as *when*, an adverb and an interrogator, and *who*, a pronoun and an interrogator.)

A frequency count follows of manner particles in a narrative (T3) and in a conversation (T4):

	Times occurring		Respective percentages of totals
	T3:1-100	T4:1-39	
fakkon	45	0	30/0
rak	31	10	21/30
kán	19	2	13/6
pwál	19	3	13/9
yéér	8	16	5/46
pwakin	8	1	5/2
fef, wúú	6 each	0	8/0
rúwan, wuwétin, yee	2 each	0	2/0
kéláán	1	1	1/2
yen	1	0	1/0
reen	0	2	0/6
	<u>150</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>99/101</u>

The two counts differ principally in relative use of *fakkon*, *rak*, and *yéér*. The high frequency of *yéér*, the hesitation particle, in T4, is largely due to the informant's groping for words in the single long speech in T4:23-28: fourteen of the sixteen examples of *yéér* occur here. The high frequency of *fakkon* in T3 may be an idiosyncrasy of the teller. Further counts in each media are needed.

Particles ending in -n frequently are separated from a following consonant by an excrescent -i: *fakkon-i likkáp very big*, *pwakin-i mat very full*, *pwakin-i yengaang work alone*.

The particles in this section are called 'manner particles'. They qualify the words they modify, some as intensifiers (*fakkon*, *pwakin*, *nayilúk*, *yámway*), and others in less general and more specific fashion. The English translations of these particles in the examples in the remainder of this section are in italicized capital letters.

## Manner particles usually preceding verbs

fakkon, fakkoy

Fakkon is an intensifier with glosses depending on context, as *very*, *too*, *by all means*, *certainly*, *a lot*, *most*; *not at all* (with a negative) and others as indicated below. Fakkon is probably the most-used manner particle in T1-3.

Ya fakkon firifir. *It's VERY good.*

Yawe há tá wóón fanú yika yaw a fakkon-i likkáp (T2:15). *You don't fit on land because you are TOO big.*

Hi pwe le fakkon fáyiló. *We'll BY ALL MEANS go.*

Ruweray iik, minne wo fakkoy áfiriy? *Two fish, which do you want MOST?*

Áa a fakkon fiiyow (T1:99). *They fought FIERCELY.*

Hi yópw fakkon fayingi yiteef (T2:24). *We don't speak their names AT ALL; under no circumstances do we speak their names.*

Fakkon both precedes and follows kan, kéláán, peyin, pwakin, pwal, rúwan, wiihen. It seems to qualify the meaning of the word it immediately precedes: Ya a kéláán fáyito. *He has just actually come; ya a fakkon kéláán fáyito he has REALLY just come.*

Ya a fakkon káy hoong (T2:37). *He thereupon became VERY angry.*

Ye reen fakkon fip makékkúúweló rak wa we (T2:49). *And then suddenly COMPLETELY shattered and smashed the canoe.*

Ya a men pwakin fakkon ttúmúnú ngaw me feen inan we (P1s). *He was VERY badly treated by his mother. (For fakkon pwakin see T3:11.)*

A rare use of fakkon before a noun is wóón fakkon efór wa (T3:60) *on this VERY canoe.*

See also under yen.

kán, káy<sup>1</sup>

This common particle has a nuance of *just*, *for the moment*, *a bit*, *apparently*, *then*.

Meeta mwu wo fééfi? Yi kán mwéngé ylik. *What are you doing? I'm JUST eating fish.*

Áa a káy nonno (T1:145). *They stayed A BIT.*

Áa a kán fééfi pwe niiniin waa (T1:148). *They AT TIMES acted to destroy canoes.*

Wolowe Rongorik ... ya a kán wiihen mwifimwif (T1:175). *The man Rongorik ... THEN himself steered.*

kán, káy<sup>2</sup>

This particle is less common than kán<sup>1</sup>, and is glossed *commonly*, *ordinarily*. Re kán róónimw efemah (T3:35). *People COMMONLY get married.*

See also yán.



## kéláán

Glosses: *have just, already, so far, for the first time.*

Yi kéláán mwéngé. *I've JUST eaten.*

Yiyey i kéláán umwuóówow (T1:111). *This is THE FIRST TIME I've led /a group/ out.*

An Ulul variant is láán. Also, T1:43, T3:43.

## kkon, intensifier

The only examples are from Pis. (See also yokkon.)

Ya a kkon ccóng róón súkuul. *There are SO many students.*

Yi ya kkon mehak. *I'm VERY MUCH afraid.*

## mwongé even

Yáteen e toongaa mwongé mwéngé min enngaw. *He can EVEN eat bad food.*

Rá kán toongani niiye mwongé fanú (T2:71). *They can EVEN kill off a whole land!*

## peyin

Glosses: *often, commonly, usually.*

Yi ya peyin noono Hawai. *I USUALLY live in Hawaii.*

Hi peyin kkapah ... *We COMMONLY say ...*

Yi peyin engaang ikeey. *I USUALLY work here.*

Ya peyi feito yikeey (Pis). *He OFTEN comes here.*

pwakin, pwakii<sup>1</sup>

Glosses: *very much, completely, superlatively, more.*

Ra a pwakin-i mat (T1:80). *They were VERY full.*

Ló ló ya pwakii foh (T3:8). *After a time, there was no more AT ALL.*

Ya fakkoy pwakin ómwuwmw (T3:11). *Really yielding VERY plentifully.*

pwakin, pwakii<sup>2</sup>

Glosses: *by oneself, alone.*

Ngaang i pwe pwakin-i yengaang. *I'll work ALONE.*

Yiik ekkéwe rak fa a pwakii niy (T1:149). *The fish just destroyed /the canoes/ BY THEMSELVES.*

Pwakin ngaang rak (T3:34). *Just me ALONE.* (This is a rare example of pwakin before an independent pronoun.)

## reen quickly, suddenly

Ngaang i ya reen mawúfló rak. *I SUDDENLY just fell asleep.*

Ye reen fakkon fip (T2:49). *He SUDDENLY shattered.*

Also, T3:126, T4:25.

rúwan, rúway

Glosses: *still, yet, by this time, again; any more, yet* (with negatives).

Áa a rúwan no lehet, pwe fá a rúwan wayilé. *They were STILL at sea, because they were STILL fishing.*

Áa a pwal rúwan noono Polowat. *They also STILL live on Puluwat.*

Yi há rúwan wefiifolá. *I haven't seen them AGAIN.*

Also, T2:71,73; T3:64,66.

wiihen self

Wolowe Rongorik a kán wiihen mwifimwif (T1:175). *Then the man Rongorik HIMSELF steered.*

wuwétin ... mwo, wétin ... mwo, wétin

Glosses: *even though, in spite of the fact, due to the fact, to try vainly to.*

Wuwétin púng mwo láng, yi pwe yengaang. *EVEN THOUGH it rains, I'll work.*

Yii ya wétin kkayé kkapahán fán eey, ngé ye há kúleey. *He tried VAINLY to learn the language of this island, but he doesn't know it.*

Yi pwe lé fakkon uwétin mǎá mwo, yi pwe le ló wóóni Yáley (T3:9). *EVEN IF I am sure to die, I'm going on to Yáley.*

Also, T3:20.

yámway very

Ya a yámway kacc llon fanin eey. *It's VERY fine today.*

Yeey laayif a men ámway kkáng (Pis). *This knife is VERY sharp.*

yán then

Lúúwe lúúwe nge, wow án kukufáátá (T3:126). *Chew, chew, and THEN you spit out.*

This is a variant of kán, an example of k/y interchangeability.

yen

The usual order is negative + yen + verb, with glosses *hardly at all, just a little, incompletely, imperfectly.*

Note the semantic difference of negative fakkon and negative yen:

Yi há fakkon kúleey. *I don't know at all.*

Yi há yen kúleey. *I know JUST A LITTLE; I HARDLY know.*

Ye há fakkon ffat. *It's not at all clear.*

Ye há yen ffat. *It's not COMPLETELY clear.*

Wolowe Rongorik a fakkon ppalú, nge wolowe Rongolap e ppalú nge e há pwal yen ppalú (T1:7). *The man Rongorik was a real navigator, but the man Rongolap was a navigator, but still NOT MUCH of a navigator.*

Yii yen fénéfénén minekkéwe (T3:24). *He looks a little like something.*

#### Manner particles following verbs

##### mwo

This is a clitic exhortative particle following verbs that are exhortations and commands, and serves to make such speech less blunt.

Wetiwetí mwo! *Just wait A MINUTE.*

Yómwusaaló mwo. *PLEASE excuse me.*

Hi pwe káni fiffiyonge mwo (T1:164). *Let's JUST keep on telling stories.*

Fáyito yi pwe yánganiyiko mwo. *Come, and I'll JUST talk to you.*  
Also, T2:57.

The meanings of common yina mwo! are idiomatic.

Yina mwo! *Never mind! It doesn't matter! Don't bother!*

Yina mwo ye púng lán, yi pwe ló. *Even though it's raining, I'll go.*

The sequence yekéhu mwo plus a negative seems to mean *just a little, just a few*. Yekéhu mwo ccówún maheef e haaf (T1:138). *They were almost awake.*

See section 13 for the quite different meanings of negatives + mwo.

##### ppak exactly, precisely

Heeyik ppak liyapemám iik. *Our fish catch was EXACTLY ten.*

Heey me fuwoow ppak kúlók. *EXACTLY twelve o'clock.*

Ra a léélé ppak le toofi we layin (Pis). *They reached the borderline at EXACTLY the same time.*

See the *Dictionary* for ppak as a verb. Compare the suffix -ppak in section 11.

##### yee on and on

This particle, common in narrative, indicates the passing of time and frequently follows repeated verbs, and is itself followed by a verb expressing the action following the elapsed time.

Fáyli fáyl ee, ya fayli ye pwe le matúló fán eey (T3:121). *AFTER A LONG TIME, the people of this island had enough to eat. ("do go on did go is future immediately full-up people-of-island this")*

Ra a fakkon átiyeef átiyeef átiyeef ee! Tilyeló me wóóni Áley (T3:124). *They drove them ON AND ON AND ON, and confined /them/ to Yáley.*

As an indication of frequency, this morpheme occurs in T3 in verses 1, 3, 115, 117, 121, 122, 124.

## Manner particles in construction with diverse classes

## fef, fefi, fááy

This particle with its allomorphs seems semantically as general as the much more common fakkon; sometimes it clearly means *already*, *previously* (T3:16,45), and in some environments has resultative connotations. It precedes verbs and occasionally nouns.

Áa a fef meháyik pwe ya waf siipw. *They are VERY happy because a ship came.*

Yi fef fáyiló Ruuk. *I've ALREADY been to Truk.*

Yi pwe fef fáyiló Ruuk. *I'll CERTAINLY be going to Truk.*

Yi ya fef mwerán mwéngé. *I SURELY want to eat.*

Yi ya mwerán fef mwéngé. *I want to REALLY eat.*

Ye fefi firifir. *It TURNS OUT to be good.*

Yi fááy raw. *I'm QUITE late.*

Fef róó kka, róónimwan ne, fa pwe le hú (T3:67). *EVEN those people, the wives, will go away.*

## fóton, fótoy

The many glosses include *usually*, *customarily*, *frequently*, *often*, *for a long time*, *true*, *real*, *common*.

Possible environments are varied.

Before verb: Ya a fóton hemwaay. *He is OFTEN sick.*

Before noun: Yifa fóton itómw? *What is your USUAL name?*

As initial expletive: Fóton o pwe nonno yikeey. *USUALLY you'll stay here.*

With negatives the meanings are *never*, *rarely*, *not often*.

Ngaang i há fóton háhháy wóón waa hefák. *I've not OFTEN /or NEVER/ sailed in a sailing canoe.*

## pwai, pway

Glosses: *also*, *too*, *again*, *more*; *either* (with a negative).

This particle is used far more commonly than would be indicated by its English glosses. The Pis informant's translation of English *what are you going to do?* was meet o pwe pwai ló feefi ("what you will again go do-it"). Often, as here, pwai appears merely to impart a nuance of reiteration or successive action, or to reinforce such nuances: Áa a pwai rúwan noono Polowat. *They STILL live on Puluwat.* ("they do also still are-living Puluwat"). In the following, nge ... pwai may, perhaps, be merely translated *but*: Yáámem áy kuleey, nge áy he pwai kkapaha. *We know, BUT we don't speak.*

The most common positions of pwai are before verbs and independent pronouns or nouns.

Before verbs:

Wo mwefan pway ló. *You want to go TOO.*

Yiwe Wuung a pwal fáyitá. Ya a pwal fáyitá (Tl:163). *Then Ridgepole went up AGAIN. He went up AGAIN.*

Wo te pwal kkapahán Ruuk. *Don't speak Trukese EITHER.*

Mwáánellap ewe e he pwale yáreeló minewe léhuum pwe a pwal áccika nú we (Tl:72). *The old man AGAIN had not thrown his scraps away because he AGAIN set such value on the coconuts.*

Before independent pronouns and nouns:

Pwal ngaang. *Me, TOO.*

Hapw pwal ngaang. *Not me, EITHER.*

Pwal Pen. *Ben, TOO.*

Pwal meeta we (T2:58). *What's this? What's the idea?*

Before numbers:

Pwal efor. *One MORE.*

Also: Tl:19.

rak

The glosses are in some contexts *only, just*, but frequently rak merely emphasizes an action or imparts a slight focus on the verb that is difficult to put into English. Rak follows verbs, nouns, independent pronouns, conjunctions, and numbers.

Verb + rak: Towélong ekéhu rak (T2:41). *ALMOST entered inside. ("entered-in a-little just")*

Noun + rak: Ra a toofi fúweray faapwul, pwal mwéngéyán Ppalúwelap rak (Tl:19). *They came to two girls, ALSO sisters of Great-nativagor.*

Independent pronoun or noun + rak: Ngaang rak i pwe kkapah (Tl:122). *ONLY I will speak. Yeen rak. It's up to you. As you like. Suit yourself. Pen rak. ONLY Ben.*

Conjunction + rak: Yiye rak, ... *And then, ...*

Number + rak: Rúwoow rak háápi. *JUST two bowls.*

See morphophonemic rules 1 and 2 for loss of -k in rak, and rule 8 (section 2) for assimilation of -k.

Another example of assimilation and loss of -k: Wo te ró yoreeyeyló. *Don't eat me up.*

In the Pis dialect, and perhaps rarely in Puluwat, rak may precede the verb: Ya a rak mwéngé, yiwe ya a ló. */He/ JUST finished eating and went away.*

yéér, -ér, -r, kéér; yaa, yéé, wúú, woo

This particle in its many shapes announces that the speaker is uncertain or is groping for words, and may be translated by *uh, what-you-call-it, well, ah*.

The forms yéér and kéér may occur utterance initially. The forms -ér and -r occur in close juncture with preceding particles and following verbs (usually) or nouns. The forms without -r are followed by one of the three terminal junctures; there may be assimilation to preceding vowels. They also may follow yéér.

Kéér-é tipay. *WELL, my business/WELL, I don't want to, that's all.*

Yéér úú, yi há kúleey. *WELL, I don't know.*

Yéér ina; nge-r ina. *JUST cause/BECAUSE.*

We té-ér fáyiló kéewow. *WELL, don't go to kéewow.*

Hi pwé-r engaang. *WELL, we'll work.*

Yeray úú, mweyel. *A large, UH, helmet shell.*

Yefór oo, waa. *One, UH, canoe.*

Yeew éé, pwóóf. *One, UH, box.*

Kilas úú, ye no wóóy ceepel. *The glass, WELL, is on the table.*

... pwe yi kúttafetál rak éé, yánáy mwéngé (T3:28). ... *as I'm just looking about for, UH, my food.*

Yi a mellé mé yekiyekiy aa, hi pwe le róónimw (T3:49). *I've finally thought, UH, we should get married.*

Hapw éé --- liyena ye ... (T3:82). *Really UH --- the lady who....*  
Also, T3:62,73,104.

The forms ending in -r are followed by úú in T4:6, 12, 26 (four times), or by átá, as in T4:23. They may follow prepositions (T4:6, 12), manner particles (T3:30, 35), negatives (T3:14), or nouns (T4:24). -r occurs also as a part of a conjunction sequence (T4:23). It is common in colloquial conversation.

#### Expletive

##### nayilúk

Glosses: *certainly, surely, definitely, really, that's right.*

This not common particle is usually used as an expletive (Gleason 1965:148 calls expletives 'elements of loose connection to the sentence structure'). It may be considered semantically an intensifier.

Ngaang, naylúk i pwe pwongiy ikeyy. *I'm DEFINITELY going to stay a long time here.*

Nayilúk e llet. *That's CERTAINLY right.*

Nayilúk mihilyómw. *You're REALLY joking.*

Yeen, wo payilúk wo pwe pwongiy ikeey. *You are CERTAIN to stay here long.* (The occurrence of nayilúk after subject pronouns mitigates against its classification as a conjunction.)

## 15. CONJUNCTIONS

### Inventory

Conjunctions are particles that form immediate constituents with everything else in sentences and clauses. The major subdivisions are based on position. Small subdivisions are based on semantic criteria. The major subdivisions depend on occurrence (1) at the beginning of primary clauses or (2) secondary clauses, and (3) in various positions, as at the beginning of primary or secondary clauses or at their ends.

Some conjunctions are frequently followed by other conjunctions (as yóó ngé *yes, but*), manner particles (especially rak *just*), or words other than verbs. These are called *conjunction sequences*.

Analysis of conjunctions is complicated not only by the great number of them, but also by considerable homonymity, as the following indicates:

- pwe<sup>1</sup>, future/exhortative verb marker
- pwe<sup>2</sup>, subordinating causal conjunction
- pwe<sup>3</sup>, subordinating definitional conjunction
- yiwe<sup>1</sup>, general sentence-introducing conjunction
- yiwe<sup>2</sup>, subordinating resultative conjunction
- yiwe<sup>3</sup>, demonstrative *le* (table 2)
- yiwe<sup>4</sup>, impersonal verb *to be finished*
- hApw<sup>1</sup>, negative future/exhortative verb marker
- hApw<sup>2</sup>, intensifying sentence-introducing conjunction

The particles and words in each set have different distributions except pwe<sup>2</sup> and pwe<sup>3</sup>. According to methodologies of phonemic and morphemic analyses, etic units in complementary distribution may be united as emic units if they are similar (English *n* and *h* are in complementary distribution but are phonetically different, and hence are considered separate phonemes). The glosses of pwe<sup>1</sup> and pwe<sup>2</sup> and hApw<sup>1</sup> and hApw<sup>2</sup> are sufficiently disparate as to justify their designation as emic units. The semantic differences between yiwe<sup>1</sup> *then, and* and yiwe<sup>2</sup> *then as a result, and so* are only slightly different,

and their union and separation is a matter of artistic preference. An article by David C. Bennett discusses sememic separation. Bennett considers analytical separation (and paucity of synonyms) conservative, and the contrary (lumping) liberal.

What of *pwe*<sup>2</sup> and *pwe*<sup>3</sup>, each of which introduces secondary clauses? Here the theory is that etically similar units are considered emic units if they contrast in similar environments (as English *p* and *b* in *pet* and *bet*). Here again, the glosses (*pwe*<sup>2</sup> *because, therefore* and *pwe*<sup>3</sup> *namely, that is to say*) justify such separation.

Assignment of numbers is 'uninteresting' (a currently fashionable use of an old word) and hence may without apology be based on intuitively-felt notions of relative frequency of occurrence.

In rapid speech, repetitions and appositional phrases may occur in successive clauses without intervening terminal junctures or conjunctions, as in the following sentence. The clauses (all of them predicationals) are numbered:

- (1) Yiwe, wolowe nawún olowe, hamwol we, hamwol ewe ya kay, no,  
 (2) ya fakkon no (3) ye pwe le mááló rak feen aan kíililó (T3:6).  
 (1) *Well, the man son of the man, and the chief the chief was still alive,*  
 (2) *he was alive indeed* (3) *he was about to die because of his hunger.*

The inventory of conjunctions follows: a few common conjunction sequences are included.

(1) Primary clause introducers

Whole sentence constituents

Temporal

fayl, fayli, fayili me, fayili ngé

lóóló

noonooló

yineet *when* (see section 6)

Intensifier

hapw, hópw<sup>2</sup>

hótto

Conditional

yókkon

yóton

Causal

yemín

yina minne



## General introducer

yiwe<sup>1</sup>, yiwe ngé, yiwe rak, yiwe rang ngé

## Affirmative and negative

yewéí, yóó, yóó ngé

yaapw, mmm

## Surprise

woo(w), woowuw

## Introducer of primary clause only

yina mwo

## (2) Secondary clause introducers

## Causal

pwe<sup>2</sup>, pwe meeta, pwe yátá, pwe yikapwopwota *why, because* (see section 6)

pwopwún

yimwu, yimwu mááli

## Definitional

pwe<sup>3</sup>

## Conditional

yika

## Resultative

yiwe<sup>2</sup>

## (3) Conjunctions in various positions

## Conditional

mááli

yáfe

yátá

yika (Trukese) = yáfe (Puluwat)

yikene

## Additive

ngé

ngoton

## Temporal

lipwan

## Hesitation

ya<sup>2</sup>

## Vocative

yee

The frequency count of the conjunctions in narrative (T3) and in conversation (T4) follows:

	Times occurring		Respective percentages of totals
	T3:1-100	T4:1-39	
yiwe <sup>1</sup> , general introducer	56	14	36/45
pwe <sup>2</sup> , causal	37	4	24/13
pwe <sup>3</sup> , definitional	29	6	18/20
ngé	26	4	17/13
ya <sup>2</sup> , hesitation	7	0	4/0
hApw <sup>2</sup> , intensifier	2	3	1/10
	<u>157</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>100/101</u>

#### (1) Conjunctions at the beginning of primary clauses

Most conjunctions preceding primary clauses form immediate constituents with the rest of the sentence, e.g. up to the final terminal juncture. Only one conjunction sequence, *yina mwo even though*, forms an immediate constituent with the primary clause but not with the remainder of the sentence. The conjunctions in the larger class may be considered whole sentence constituents. *Yina mwo* may be termed a primary clause introducer.

#### Temporal introducers

fáyí fáyí, fáyíí fáyííí

The common word *to go* (fáyííí, more commonly fáyííí) when repeated after ./ or silence has the meaning *after a while, then*. See T3:2, 3, 70. Conjunction sequences include fáyííí me (T3:21,22), fáyííí ngé (T3:15,23), and fáyííí fáyííí ee (T3:121).

lóóíó

Lóóíó, like fáyííí, is glossed *go*, but as an introduction to a primary clause indicates the passage of time.

Lóóíó ya pwakííí foh. *After a while there was no more at all.*

See T3:52, 70, 87.

noonooló

This is a conventional beginning of a story, as in T1-3, and may be glossed *once upon a time*. The base is *no to stay*.

## Intensifiers

hapw, hópw<sup>2</sup>

This common conjunction is hapw in the village of Reelong and hópw in the nearby village of Reewow, and may be glossed *certainly, just, indeed, well*. It seems always closely joined to the rest of the sentence, and is not to be confused with the negative verb markers Hapw and Hópw<sup>1</sup>, or the negative conjunction yaapw no. It is heard very frequently in the expression hapw i há kúleey *I really don't know at all*. It is frequently followed by ér, a dubitative manner particle.

Pwopwota wo hópw fáyiló Reewow? Hapw ér ina. Hapw ér tipay. *Why aren't you going to Reewow? Just cause. Just my notion.* Meeta a ha yengaang feen? Hapw er ika yi hemwaay. *Why aren't you working? Just because I'm sick.*

See T3:43, 95; T4:24, 25.

hóttö so

Hóttö ina rihirihin minneey (T4:27). *So that's what this thing was like. ("so that kind this-thing")*

Hóttö ye wóf hááyí Hátawaan a fayito lopwong we? *So a Satawal canoe came last night?*

The Pis form is tto: Tto pwe ya yiyeeey rak epé nowumw laayif? *Is it true that this is your only knife?*

## Conditionals

yokkon, yokkonetá

The many glosses include *maybe, perhaps, apparently, seem*. Yokkon sometimes follows yátá or precedes ngE.

Fitoow pel a lér? Yokkon e keláán eew. *How many bells have rung? Perhaps one already.*

Yokkon e no lo wutt. *Maybe he's in the boathouse.*

Yátá yokkon ámway kkáng laayif eey. *So, this knife seems very sharp.*

Yokkon nge ye pwe púng lág. *Well, it looks like it's going to rain.*

Yokkonetá yi hemwaay ikena. *I'm probably a little sick today.*

Yokkon also follows a particle: ye kéláán okkon eew *perhaps one so far*.

Yokkon is probably related to the manner particle kkon, section 14.

yóton = yokkon

Yóton e pwe nngaweló yeey fáán (Pis). *Apparently this weather is getting worse.*

## Causal introducer

*yemin because*

Variants are *yemin* and (on Pis) *yemen*. This conjunction is usually followed by *yika*, *pwe*, or *pwe yika*, also meaning *because*.

Meet omw mmang pwéta? Yemen pwe yi mwar le yengaang (Pis). *Why are you late? Because I was late at work.*

*Yimin ii pwe yika leefák. Because it's the breadfruit season.*

Also, T2:59.

*yina minne therefore, for that reason*

*Yina minne, yi há mwefan. That's why I don't consent.*

*Yina* is demonstrative 2d (table 2).

## General introducer

The general introducer (*yiwe*<sup>1</sup>) differs from other conjunctions in that it is commonly separated from the rest of the sentence by /,/ and that the syllable preceding /,/ is commonly at a higher pitch level.

*Yiwe*<sup>1</sup> is the most common sentence introducer in both narrative and conversation. Possible translations are *and*, *then*, *well*; reiteration of such words in English is unnatural; a mere period before the *yiwe*-sentence is probably enough translation if one wishes the English to sound like English.

Conjunction sequences are *yiwe ngé* (T3:8, 55, 83, 85, 91), *yiwe rak* (T3:21), *yiwe ran ngé* (T4:26). *Yiwe* is sometimes followed by demonstratives, as *yiwe yikéwe* in T3:16. *Yiwe yimwu, yi pwe le mwéngé. Then I'll eat.*

When my informant was waiting for me to continue with questions he would say *Yiwe? What next?*

## Affirmatives and negatives

The two affirmatives (*yewef*, *yóó*) are both used as sentence words, and seem used interchangeably as conjunctions, but perhaps with different semantic nuances. In T4:32 and 33, the two speakers say *yóó* and *yewef*, apparently with little meaning difference, but *yewef* here and elsewhere may have the nuance *That's right! That's so! Yes, it is!* *Yewef*, further, is used as a verb meaning *to attest that something is so* (*yóó* does not occur as a verb): *Ye wof afamaha ye feyito me Ruuk? Yóó. Wo pwe yewef? Yi ya yewef (Pis). Has anyone come from Truk? Yes. You swear to it? I swear to it.*

Both *yewef* and *yóó* introduce sentences and occur in conjunction sequences.

Yewef e llet. *Yes, it's so.*

Yewefi yóó! *Yes it is; absolutely!*

Yewef mihiiyómw. *No, you're wrong.*

Yewef e yaapw. *Not at all.*

Yóó ngé Pen e há no. *Yes, but Ben is not staying.* (Also, T3:43, 71, 78.)

A rare unenthusiastic affirmative, nng, in T4:8, 13, is translated *uh-huh*.

The negatives are yaapw and mmm, both spoken with rising pitch, and both are used as sentence-word interjections. As in many languages, after negative questions yewef means *what you say is true!* and yaapw *what you say is not so!* Wo hópw fáyiló? Yewer. *You're not going? Yes (I'm not going).* (The English answer would be *No, I'm not going.*) See note 71, T1.

### Surprise

woo(w), woowuw *oh*

Woo, ya mway ccow faapúng eey iik (Pis)! *Oh, how heavy this fish is!*

See T1:50 for expression of pleasure, T1:164 and T3:34 for surprise, and T2:43 for despair.

### Primary clause introducer

yina mwo

Yina mwo is most commonly used as a complete utterance meaning *never mind, it doesn't matter, it's all right* and is a polite way to refuse the invitations to eat that issue from every house as one walks about the island. As a conjunction, yina mwo may be glossed *even though, in spite of the fact*: Yina mwo e há púng lág, a fakkon cúccaan. *Even though it didn't rain, it was very wet.*

The mwo is the affirmative imperative verb marker (section 13).

### (2) Secondary clause introducers

All the conjunctions introducing secondary clauses seem subordinate except yengaay *and suddenly*, which on semantic grounds appears coordinate. The subordinate conjunctions may be further subdivided as causal, definitional, conditional, and resultative. In the Pis dialect, fetál fetál introduces secondary clauses to indicate passage of time, much as lóóló in Puluwat. For examples, see the *Dictionary*.

## Causal

pwe<sup>2</sup> *because, so that*

... ya kán úúló, pwe ya fakkon mehak (T3:21). ... *he then stopped because he was much afraid.*

Yaw pwe pwal áfiyetá yóó we ... pwe ye te yállewuló (T1:150). *Pull in the fishline again ... so it won't be damaged.*

Pwe yika is a double causal: Ya fáyito feewóón pwe yikaye mweían kkapah nganiy paatefe. *The foreigner came because he wanted to speak with the father.* Also, T1:35; T3:9, 33, 36.

Pwe<sup>2</sup> may precede a noun phrase that functions as subject or object of a following verb: Yitto pwe waa we wómw a waf. *Come because your canoe has arrived.* Yitto pwe yánámi mwéngé yi ya yómellátá (T1:78). *Come because I have prepared your eating food.*

## pwopwún

Pwopwún is a noun meaning *beginning, source, tree trunk*. As subordinating conjunction it may be glossed *therefore, for that reason, because*.

Ya a mmang átewe pwopwún pwe ya mwar le yengaang (Pis). *The boy was late because he was delayed in work.*

Ya a mmang, yina pwopwún e he feyito (Pis). *He was late, that's why he didn't come.*

yimwu *because, lest* (with negative)

This is demonstrative 2c in table 2 frequently used as a conjunction: Yaw emmwaniló me filiyow, yimwu yáámi pwiipwi. *Stop your fighting because of your being classificatory brothers.* Yátekkéwe fe he ló pwe yimwu fe te fayinngaw. *The boys aren't going lest they come to harm.* (Either pwe or yimwu may be omitted in this sentence.)

The sequence yimwu mááli occurs twice in T3:26. Here yimwu seems to be the demonstrative *there*. Mááli means *perhaps*. The translations of yimwu mááli are capitalized. Yimwu mááli yefemahán Polowat minna, yimwu ye he ló --- mwáán ewe náyi hamwol we --- fá wúkkúfa ngé, meeta minomwu fá a fakkon óroorotiw feen imwu mááli ya lánɡitá --- Polowat. *MAYBE that's a Puluwat man there, he's not gone there --- the man the son of the chief --- they talk about, and why do they try so hard to come west, PERHAPS because there is famine there on --- Puluwat.*

## Definitional

pwe<sup>3</sup>

This common conjunction follows verbs of saying, asserting, and thinking and introduces a secondary clause, something like English *that*

in *he thought that* ... *Ya wúfa pwe he said that* + a direct quotation is extremely common.

*Ra a yayekiniy pwe ... (T3:13). They asked him: ...*

*Ye llet pwe wo té ér ekketiw (T3:14). It's true that you should probably not go west.*

*Wo kán úfa pwe yefemah (T3:24). You often say /such beings/ are humans.*

A rather different use of *pwe*<sup>3</sup> is after *nooló* in its meaning *to become*: *Ya, nooló pwe yii hamwol. He became a chief. ("perfective became that he chief")*. See also T3:120.

*Ngaang ore y sense substitute, fetál fetál, wú ya nooló pwe ore y wesewesen sense (Pis). I was a substitute teacher, later I became a real teacher.*

Also, T4:5, 7, 20, 23, 33, 36.

### Conditional

*yika if, because*

With the gloss *because*, the sequence is commonly *pwe yika*, although *pwe* may be optional.

*Yi a femmahaan manúwe pwi yi yika a hemwaay. I feel sorry for my brother because he's sick.*

*Wú pwe ngonúk eew cala ika wo limetiy imweey eey (Pis). I'll give you a dollar if you clean this house.*

*Yina mwu me yika fá a woreyáyiló (T3:20). No matter if they do eat me up.*

### Resultative

*yiwe*<sup>2</sup>

This conjunction introduces subordinate resultative clauses.  
... *yina mwu me yika fá a woreyáyiló, yiwe hi pwe fetey (T3:20). ... even though they eat me up, still we can't help it.*

*yengaay, yengeyaa and then, abruptly*

These conjunctions are usually followed by the manner particle, *rak* only, especially *yengeyaa*.

*Yáy engaang engaang, yengay rak, ya púng lán g. We worked and worked, and suddenly it rained.*

*Yáy a yengaang, yengeyaa rak, yáy a fá yiló túútú. We worked and then we went to bathe.*

*Faatapw yengaay pwufoto háát (T1:29). Gave chase and suddenly the tide came in.*

## (3) Conjunctions occurring in various positions

## Conditional

mááli *perhaps, maybe*

Mááli yo pwe fáyito. *Maybe he will come.*

Yipwan efemah ikka llón, nge mááli ye pwe le fakkon iyeey imwáy hoomá ... (T3:19). *These human footprints on it, but perhaps here is actually the ghost house ...*

For yimwu mááli, see under yimwu. Also, T3:24.

## yafe

Glosses: *if, or, whether*

The first two environments following are common, the last rare. Trukese yika sometimes replaces yafe.

## (1) Introducer of a secondary clause.

Likkáp afe kitikit. *Big or small.*

Yi pwe fáyiló yafe yi hópw fáyiló. *I'll (either) go or I won't go.*

Ye yángiyáng ikena, yafe yifa? *It's windy today, isn't it? ("it raining today or what")*

## (2) Introducer of a primary clause.

Yafe wo yarooro leyengaang, ye pwe kacc. *If you strive in work, it will be good.*

## (3) Followed by /---/.

Miná fiir afe --- *Okay if ---; probably all right but ---* (The speaker is hesitating.)

## (4) As a verb marker.

Yi pwe fáyiló wayilé, yi yafe pahaló, yiwe yi yafe pahaló. *I'm going fishing whether I drift away or whether I do not drift away.*

Similar to (4) is the following; the subordinate clause indicates doubt or uncertainty.

Yi ya mallékaaló yafe yiy a wúkúló me yiyé. *I've forgotten where I stopped.*

Kapitin a yawúkúúk afe hi pwe le toofey Ruuk. *The captain calculated when we would reach Truk.*

yafe ... yafe is glossed *either ... or; whether ... or not.*

... afe ye fah me yafe ye há fah wumwu wot mwu yáámi (T3:96). ... *whether to make or not to make your Colocasia taro oven there.*

## yátá

This particle seems to be a speech softener, hesitation marker, and indicator of a conditional mood. In the examples, the translations of yátá are capitalized. It occurs three times in T4:23.



Yátá yi pwe le mmwan mawúfíló (T1:164). *I THOUGHT I'd sleep first.*

Yátá is probably cognate with Trukese and Pis yitá: Yitá wé pwe yengaang ikena, nge a púng faan (Pis). *I WOULD HAVE worked today, but it rained.*

Wúúngúló líkkápin mmwan átá waayeh (T3:109). *Larger than a canoe SEEMS TO BE.*

Also: T3:93.

Yátá mwo has a precise meaning: *would that, may.*

Ngaang, yátá mwo a fayito siipw ikena. *I HOPE the ship MAY come today. Yátá mwo ya mááló róópwt ewe! MAY the woman die /a curse/!*

yikene

Glosses: *if, possibly, might, when (future), until.*

In some contexts, yikene is interchangeable with yika; it has a wider range of meanings, however, and frequently occurs in primary clauses.

Yikene a hááfíló láng, yiwe yi pwe fáyíló. *If the rain clears, then I'll go.*

Yikene a háfáto, ... *When he comes back, ...*

Yi pwaapw fáyíló yikene ye há púng láng. *I'll go later if it doesn't rain.*

Ya pwale mehak pweyikene yátá fa pwe niyeló (T2:74). *She was so afraid because the men might kill her.*

Wo mwerán wéti yikene a móli yaar engaang? *Do you want to wait until our work is finished?*

Additive

ngé *but, and, and so*

Yóó ngé, wo pwo no rak, ngó ó me (T3:43). *Yes, but you will stay and you will die.*

Yiwe ngé, ya mmwét (T1:174). *Well, and then he jumped.* In this and in many other sentences /,/ follows ngé. In English one may say *I'd like to go BUT --- it's too expensive.* The BUT is heavily stressed. In Puluwat /ngé,/ is weakly stressed even if the meaning is similar to English *but*. The translation following is rather literal.

Pwe yii ye pwe le mááló hamwoli hemwaay ngé. Yi pwe le ló kúttá yanan mwéngé me yiye? *Because he is about to die, the sick chief but. Where shall I go to look for his food?*

Ngé occurs in numerous conjunction sequences, as *nge yika but if, but, ngé mááli but probably, and perhaps, ngé yátá* (or shortened to *ngéta*: *Ngéta ye wey o ha pwangi no. Well, it looks as though you're not cured yet.*) *Ngé yátá, yi há pwali yen ekiyeki minnewe. Nevertheless, I hardly thought of it.* Also, T4:38, 39.

In T3:105, *ngé* introduces a noun phrase: *Ngé feen meeta? And what about it?*

The idiom *nger ina sure*, is *ngé* plus *yeer*, manner particle marking hesitation, plus *yina there*.

#### ngoton

Ngoton seems to be similar to *ngÉ* or to *ngé yátá*: *Wo pwe wetiyáy mwo ... ngoton, yi pwe tapweyúk. Wait for me ... well, I'll go with you.*

*Wonnaan, yiya mwo wo wukkuwaw me yiyé roo? Ngoton i ló rak apahfetál ... Say, where do you carry the ripe coconuts from? Well, I just go about collecting.*

See *yóton*.

#### Temporal

*lipwan when* (future declarative)

*Lipwan e pwe yetta háyin Pilik, ha a woraar woong. When the Pikelot canoe comes, we'll eat turtle.*

*Lipwan* is also a temporal noun, and is frequently followed by embedded sentences beginning *ya*:- *Yi há weewe lipwan yóómw kkapaha kkay. I don't understand when you speak fast.*

#### Hesitation

*ya*<sup>2</sup>

This conjunction introduces primary and secondary clauses and indicates a speaker's hesitation, and may be glossed *and, well, uh*.

*Ya, nooló pwe yil hamwol (T3:1). Well, after a while he became a chief.*

Also, T3:35, 46, 53, 75, 80.

After /---/ *ya*<sup>2</sup> may occur anywhere, even in the middle of a noun phrase: *Ya --- meeta --- we ne pweyi ya fakkon fayópwut ... ye haaf woot wóón ee --- ya --- Yáley. Uh. What --- I'm really worried ... there's no Colocasia taro on --- uh --- Yáley.*

#### Vocative

*yee*

*Yee* comes at the end of sentences with the gloss *eh!* as in the farewell: *Wo le ló yee! You go, eh!* It might be called an attention signaller. *Yee* is also an interjection meaning *what? is that so?* (section 16).

## 16. INTERJECTIONS

## Inventory

Interjections are one-word sentences usually spoken with higher pitch level on the final syllable, and expressive of emotion, such as surprise, pleasure, or sorrow. A few are tacked on longer utterances before final junctures, and form a constituent with all that proceeds, and some function also as conjunctions or other full words. Some idioms, composed of diverse elements, are used in similar fashion. They are described last.

## One-word sentences

- Kkang! *Oh!* (Surprise, fear, especially used by men; also yakkang.)  
 Kkong, similar to kkang, especially used by women.  
 Mehiiyómw! *You're lying! You're kidding!* (Mehiiy- is a noun.)  
 Miin. 1. *Let me see!* (The speaker is asking for time to think.)  
 2. *Say!* (Vocative, asking for attention.)  
 Mmm! *No! No, don't!* (Also a conjunction, section 15.) (T2:56.)  
 Nng. *Uh-huh.* (Falling intonation; T4:8, 13.)  
 Wook! *Oh!*  
 Wu! *Oh!* (In answer to a call.)  
 Yaapw. *No!* (See section 15 for use as a conjunction, and for its occasional translation by an affirmative.)  
 yakkang = kkang.  
 Yeehee! *No!* (Said in contradictions, with rising pitch level.)  
 Yeeho! *Oh!*  
 Yéék! *Oh! Oh, no! No! Oh, really!* (This is probably the most common Puluwat exclamation, said when one has made a mistake or is miffed, or even slightly surprised; sometimes repeated yéék, yéék; T2:34, T3:96.)  
 Yees! *Fine! Okay!* (Mild approval or surprise; T3:101, 105.)  
 Yeeweey! *My! Oh!* (Pleasure, as while looking at interesting photographs.)  
 yeháá = yeehee.  
 Yenen. 1. *Maybe, perhaps, I don't know, I don't know (or care)!* (T4:2.) 2. *Go on! Continue!* (Often said to encourage story tellers.)  
 Yetto! *Let me think! Let's see!* (From Japanese, eeto.)  
 Yewef! *Yes!* (See section 15 for use as a conjunction, and for its occasional translation by a negative.)  
 yeyia = yees.

Yeyo! *Oh!* (With rising inflection, as in calling someone's attention: Nefátikimwo yeho (T3:101). *Oh, Nefátikimwo.*

Yiiy! *Oh! No! Don't!* (Rising pitch level, surprise, refusal, annoyance; very common among adolescent girls.)

Yina! *That's right! Wonderful!* (This demonstrative 2d, table 2, is an extremely common exclamation of approval, T3:63; it is often repeated yina yina!)

Yinowulumwaar! *Oh, oh!* (Surprise, mild to great, very common, T3:60, 108; T4:4.)

yinowulumway = yinowulumwaar.

Yóó! *Yes, alright.* (See section 15 for use as a conjunction, and for its occasional translation by a negative.)

#### Some common idioms

Kkang inowulumwaar! *My!* (Surprise, T4:25.)

Ngé fúyita = yeer ina.

Nger ina. *Sure.* (Conjunction ngé + yeer, particle marking hesitation, + yina, demonstrative.)

Yakkayiti páyi! *Raise my hand! (I swear I'm speaking the truth; extremely common among children.)*

Yeer ina. *Just cause. Cause I want to.* (A rude answer to the question *why* or *why not?*)

## 17. NUMERALS

### Classifiers

Numbers are difficult because of the many suffixes classifying useful objects often counted. They are joined to digits less than 10 and to fit- *how many?* The seven common sets are listed in table 9 as sets a through g. These suffixes occur with heterogeneous bases. Those used with single or few bases are listed after the discussion of sets a-f.

Assignment to a set may seem arbitrary. One says (set 1b) yee-w ólóó! *a piece of sennit*, but (1d) ye-fór ámeey *a piece of rope*. A small turtle is (1c) ye-ray woong and a large one is (1b) yee-w woong. Selection of classifier may change meanings of the counted objects: (1e) ye-fay tefeec *a spool of thread* and ye-met tefeec *a piece of thread*

(-met is a classifier in threads and hairs); (1f) yee-réé kiyeki *one pandanus mat* and ye-fa kiyeki *one pandanus strip, as for a mat*. For some items two or more forms are possible: *one cup* may be ye-pé kkap, yee-w kkap, or ye-kkap. Others with optional forms are listed under some of the categories.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Sequential	General	Animate	Long Objects	Round Objects	Flat Objects	Hundreds
	-oow	{-ray -man}	-fór	-fay	-réé	-pwúkúw
1. yé-ét	yee-w	ye-ray	ye-	ye-	yé-	ye-
2. fúúw	fúw-oow	fúwe-ray	fúwe-	fúwe-	fúwa-	fúwa-
3. yéél	yeluu-w	yelú-ray	yelú-	yelú-	yelú-	yelú-
4. fáán	f-oow	fa-ray	{fó-ór fé-}	faa-	faa-	fa-
5. liim	lim-oow	lim-man	lif-	{lime- lif-}	limaa-	lima-
6. woon	won-oow	wono-man	wono-	wono-	wonaa-	wona-
7. fúús	féh-úúw	fúú-man	fúú-	fúú-	fúú-	fúú-
8. waal	wal-uuw	walú-man	wale-	walu-	walú	walu-
9. ttiw	tti-w-oow	ttiwa-man	ttiwa-	ttiwa-	ttiwaa-	ttiwa-
how many?	fit-oow	fite-ray	fite-	fite-	fitaa-	fitaa-
SOME						
yákk-áá-	yékk-áá-wo					
single, only						
yakk-éíáá-						
yáíáá-	-w	-ray	-fór	-fay	-réé	-pwúkúw
yáíááy-						
yakk-éíááy						

TABLE 9: NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

It is apparent in the table that the suffixes in general set b vary considerably (-w, -oow, -úúw, -wo), and that the suffixes are constant in sets d through g (except for optional fó-ór *four long objects* in 4d). The bases vary, as do the excrescent vowels. Sets a-f are discussed below, followed by a list that is not exhaustive of bases acting as classifiers for highly specialized countings.

a. The members of sequential set a are used for rapid counting of objects. The first three numbers may be said without intervening /, /; this phoneme usually follows the other digits. Quantities of fish, breadfruit, or coconuts, may be counted by two's: yét-é-fúúw *one two*,

yel-u-fáán *three four*, lim-o-woon *five six*, fús-ú-waal *seven eight*,  
tti-w-é-heeyik *nine ten*.

b. The general set is used for objects not specified in other series. For many terms, either the general set or another may be drawn upon: thus, (1b) yee-w amafa and (1f) yee-rée yamafa *one sail* and (8b) wal-uuw ngaaf and wal-u-ngaf *eight fathoms*. Trukese numbers, spoken usually with a Puluwat accent, are also used, especially for telling time: yeew, fuuwuw, wúlúngat, fúwáánú, limuw, wonuw, fisuw, waluw, ttiuwuw, fituw, and fite-. Yee-w may be used without a following noun to mean *something* (T3:74).

c. The animate set is used for humans and animals, and also for tools and weapons (katelaas *cutless*, sword, kilas *diving goggles*, laayif *knife*, ngefengef *saw*, pekk *gun*), musical instruments (hawi *trumpet*, kitaí *guitar*, wukuleele *ukulele*), and for some miscellaneous foreign artifacts, as ceepel *table chair*, niyos *picture*, and fiing *ring*. This is the only series with two distinct classifiers, (1c) -ray and -man (cognate with Trukese -mén). Ye-ray is commonly used without a following noun to mean *someone*, *one person*, *anyone*; ttupwon e-ray (T3:117) *one person's contribution*. Ye haaf e-ray e pwe fáyito *no one is to come*. In some expressions, the general classifier may be used too, as yów fite-ray and less common yów fit-oow efemah? *How many are you* (plural)?

d. The long, slender objects in set d include miscellaneous objects such as canoes (waa), vehicles (citosa), ropes (yámeey), ladders (naaté), arms (pawú), teeth (ngli), fingers (yaawút), pencils (piin), trees or sticks (yifá), taro tubers (pwula, woot), and cigarettes (suupwa). There is some variation between use of this common set and rarer ones, as (2d) fuwe-fór ún and fuwa wún *two hairs*, and (3d) yelú-fór káál and yelú-yaal *three stripes*.

e. The round objects include stones (fawú), single fruits such as bananas (wuur), lemons (layimes), and breadfruit (mááy), eggs (hakúll), balls (pwoof), stars (fúú). The classifier is probably related to fawú *stone*.

An alternate noted for yefay uur *a (single) banana* is yefaa wuur.

f. The flat objects include leafs (rée), tools not taking set (c) (hele *adze* and sóopel *axe*), clothes (méngaak *cloth*, yakarawaf *loincloth*, peenit *belt*), paddle (fatúl), sail (yamafa), bowl (háápi), mat (hááki), sheet of paper (tófopwe), razor blades (réeý faysé). The classifier is probably related to rée *leaf*.

Examples of classifiers with fit-

Fit-oow roo? *How many ripe coconuts?*

Kúlók fit-oow? *What time is it? ("clock how-many")*

Fite-ray efemah? *How many people?*

Fite-fór waa? *How many canoes?*

Fite-fay uur? *How many (single) bananas?*

Fite-pwúkúw iik? *How many hundred fish?*

Liyápeney fite iik? *How many fish were caught?* (The classifier -ray is used for less than ten fish. The implication is that more than ten fish were caught.)

Many bases, including reconstructed bases, are prefixed by numbers. For such counting, see the following in the *Dictionary*: -fa fibres, threads, fir blade, -hakk slices, -háal ropes, -hátt chips, slices, hópw half, end, section, kéh dab, kkap cup, -kúm swallows, -lé bottles, -met threads, hairs, -mótol sections between nodes, as of sugarcane and bamboo, -mwéh dab, -mwéy piles of ripe coconuts, five-fathom length of coarse sennit, -ngaf fathoms, -pa leis, belts, palúw half section, -pé plants, knives, cups, peliy half section, side, pinék bundle, pwang hole, -pwékiy half swallows, pwi group, -pwong nights, -pwopw stump, -rúk baskets, -ttum sucks, túkúm package, -wumw bunches, clusters, wún hair, feathers, yáál necklace, strands, belt, yaawút finger, yáf pile of ten, -yang spans, -yii hands of bananas, piles, -yipw footprints.

Kumwúr wrist has only a short form of the numeral one, ye-kúmwúr, used as a unit of length.

## Ten and above

### Decades

10 hee-yik	If -yik is considered the underlying form meaning
20 fuw-e	decade for 10, 30, 40, 70, and 80, the alternates are
30 yel-iik	-iik after consonants, yik after vowels other than i-,
40 fáá-yik	and -ik after i-. There are no alternates to -e
50 lim-e	occurring only in 20, 50, 60, and 90.
60 won-e	Intervening numbers are formed by the decade me and
70 fi-ik	+ the digit. Thus, 12 is hee-yik me fuw-oow or heey me
80 wal-iik	fuw-oow, 24 is fuw-e me f-oow, 78 is fi-ik me wal-uuw.
90 ttiw-e	89 fish is wal-iik me ttiwa-man iik.

### Thousands

1,000	ye-ngefay
2,000	fuwa-ngefay
3,000	yeli-ngefay

4,000	fa-ngefay
5,000	lima-ngefay
6,000	wona-ngefay
7,000	fúú-ngefay
8,000	wali-ngefay
9,000	ttiwa-ngefay
10,000	kkit
100,000	hee-yik kkit or ye-pwúkúw e-ngefay
1967	ye-ngefay ttiwa-pwúkúw won-e me féh-uuw
	1,000            9,000            60    and    7

#### Ordinals and the days of the week

1st	ya-ye-w-an
2nd	yó-fuw-ow-an
3rd	yé-yelú-w-an
4th	yó-f-ow-an
5th	yá-lim-ow-an
6th	yó-won-ow-an
7th	ya-féh-úw-an
8th	ya-wal-uw-an
9th	ya-ttiw-ow-an
10th	ya-hee-yik-an
how manyth	ya-fit-ow-an

The first morpheme is the causative yó- (before high and mid back vowels), yé- (in 3rd), and ya- (elsewhere). Finally is the 3rd singular attributive suffix. The two central morphemes are shortened forms of set b in table 9.

The ordinals from 2nd through 6th, usually without the -an, are also the names of the days of the week from Tuesday through Saturday. Monday and Sunday are occasionally ya-ye-w 1st and ya-féh-úw 7th, but more commonly hárin fáál *ending sacredness* and ránini pin *sacred day*. Even more commonly, however, the Trukese names of the days of the week are heard, usually with a Puluwat accent: sefin fáán *Monday*, yófuuw *Tuesday*, yewúnúgat *Wednesday*, yefuwanú *Thursday*, yelimu *Friday* and yommol *Saturday*.

#### Examples

Ya-fit-ow-an fanin wiik ikena? *What day of the week is it today?*

Ya-fito-w-an áán Pen fáyito yikeey? *How many times has Ben come here? ("how-manyth of Ben coming here"; everything except the first word is an embedded sentence).*



Ya a-f-ow-an áán yábito yikeey. *He's come here four times.*

Ye pwe kéláán iyeey a-ye-w-an aaf fábito yikeey. *This is the first time they have come here. ("it will already here first their coming here")*

Yikena a yó-fuw-ow-an áán Pen fábito yikeey. *Today is the second time Ben has come here.*

Some, single, only

These words (see table 9) are common, but considerable free fluctuation has been noted in use of both -l- and -ll- and é- -éláá, yáláá-, -éláy-. A possible breakdown of the morphemes:

yákk-áá-: plural (symbolized in section 11 as yV<sub>1</sub>kk-) + -áá- single object.

yákk-éláá-: yV kk- + -éláá- only, just.

yálláy- = yáláá-.

yákk-éláy-: yV kk- + -éláy- (= -éláá).

The -kk- plural morpheme was encountered in the demonstratives and in the prefix YVkk-.

#### Examples

Yákk-áá-wo fansown, fán ákk-áá-wo. *Sometimes.*

Yákk-áá-ray efemah. *Some people.*

Yákk-áá-ray liyápemám ilk nanewú. *We caught a very few fish yesterday.*

Fite-ray nawúmi kilas? Yáláá-ray nawúmám kilas. *How many diving goggles have you? We have a single pair of diving goggles.*

Rá a wuwiliy ákk-áá-pwúkúw woot. *They pulled up several hundred Colocasia taros.*

Yákk-éláá kéh. *A single dab.*

Yáláá-wo ruk núú we téékiyáy. *I've climbed a single coconut tree.*

(see T2:64 and T3:31.)

Yákk-áláá-fu we-fór waa aa waf. *Just two canoes have come.*

Fite-fay uur aa noo? Yákk-áláá-hee-yik. Yákk-áláá-yelú-fay. *How many bananas are left? Just ten. Just three.*

## 18. PHRASE STRUCTURE

## Methodology

The object of this chapter is to show the environments of the previously described units by means of phrase-structure sentence diagrams. A single transformational technique has been used, that of permutation, to illustrate variations from the most common order of the units. Thus, if the subject follows the predicate (it usually precedes), I write:

Subj + Pred  
 1        2 → 2 1

This is to be read 2 *precedes* 1.

The following abbreviations are used in the diagrams:

Ag	agentive or causal preposition
Ag P	agentive or causal phrase
Com P	comitative phrase
Conj	conjunction
Demon	demonstrative
Ind Pro	independent pronoun
Inter	interrogative
Loc	locative word
Loc P	locative phrase
Man Part	manner particle
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral
P	phrase
Perf	perfective
Pos	possessive
Pos Cl	possessive classifier
Pos Const	possessive construction
Pred	predicate
Prep	preposition
Prep P	prepositional phrase
Pro	pronoun
Rel	relative
S	sentence
#S#	embedded sentence, relative clause, subordinate or coordinate clause
Subj	subject
Subj Pro	subject pronoun

Temp	temporal word
Temp P	temporal phrase
Voc	polite vocative
Voc P	polite vocative phrase
V	verb
VM	verb marker
VP	verb phrase

### Sentences

Most sentences consist of Subj and Pred. The Pred, in turn, may consist of a VP, followed by one or more NP, the first being an indirect object and the second a direct object, as well as by Loc or Loc P, Temp or Temp P, Ag or Ag P, Com or Com P. Units comprising Subj, Pred, VP, NP, and other phrases are listed below. A fairly common sentence is verbless and equational. Subj may be preceded by conjunction or conjunctions and predicates may be followed by Voc and Voc P. Variations in this order are shown by permutation rules.

Many sentences consist of a single word or phrase. Many of these are interjections and are listed in section 17. Some sentence words are commands (*Fáyito! Come here!*) or names of people (*Pen! Ben!*).

Slots in the most common units (other than sentence-words) are listed below. Optional units are underlined. Thus VP, NP, NP, Conj + #S# is to be read 'a verb or verb phrase may occur with any or all that follows'.

S: Conj, Conj, Subj, Pred, Voc P

Voc P

NP

Subj: Ind Pro, Subj Pro

Subj Pro

NP, Subj Pro

Demon, Subj Pro

Pos, Subj Pro

NP, Com P, Subj Pro

Pos + #S#, Subj Pro

N, Rel + #S#

Com P, Com P, Subj Pro

Inter

Ø

Pred: VP, NP, NP, Conj + #S#  
 VP, VP, NP  
 VP, NP, NP, Conj + #S#  
 VP, NP, Inter  
 VP, VP, VP, VP, VP, NP  
 VP, Loc P, Ag P  
 VP, Loc P, NP  
 VP, Temp P  
 VP, Voc P  
 VP, Com P  
VP, Demon + #S#  
 Rel + #S#  
 Com P  
 N  
 Ind Pro  
 Inter, Inter

NP: Pos, N  
 N, Demon  
 N, N  
 N, Inter  
 N, Dem, Pos  
 Num, N  
 Pos Const

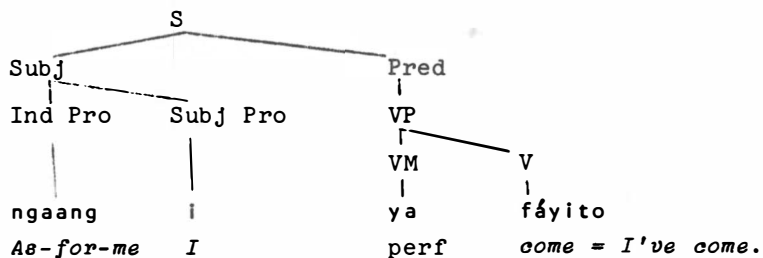
Pos Const: Pos Cl, N

Pos Cl: Pos, N.

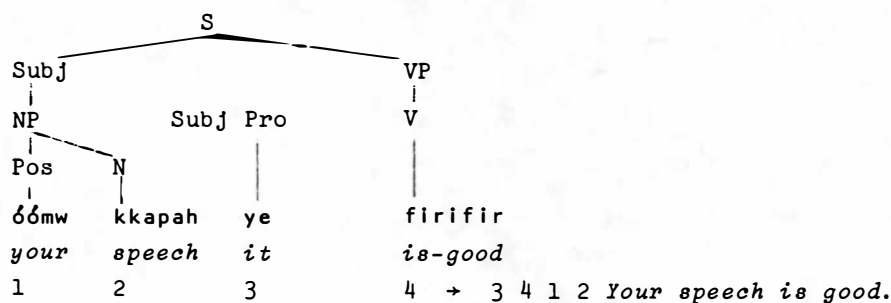
VP: VM, Man Part, V  
 V-1, V

### Examples

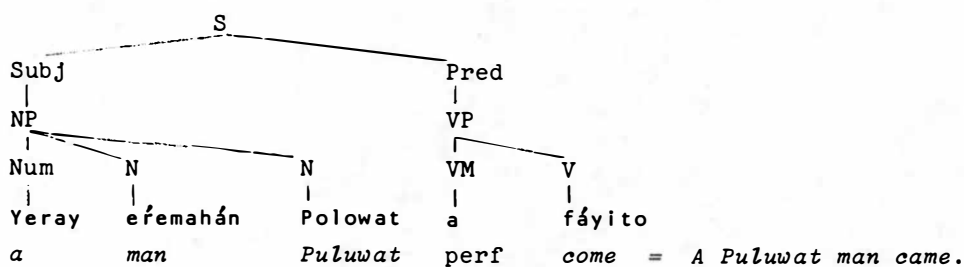
Ngaang i ya fáyito



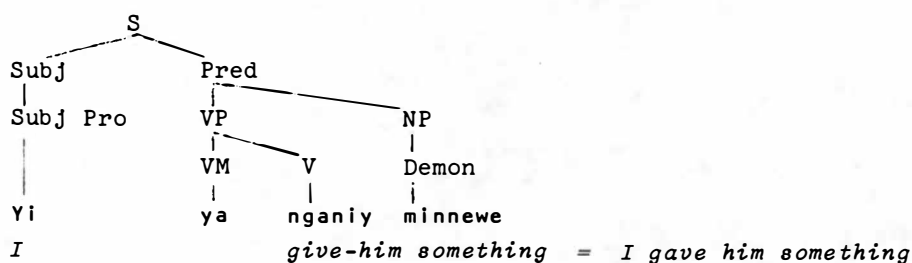
Ye firifiir óómw kkapah.



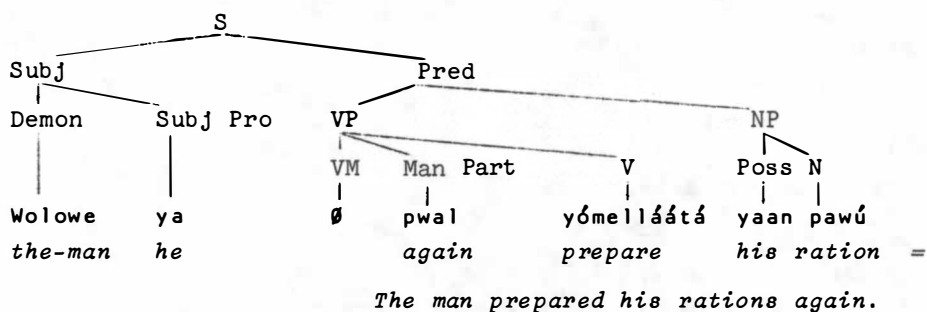
Yeray efemahán Polowat a fáyito.



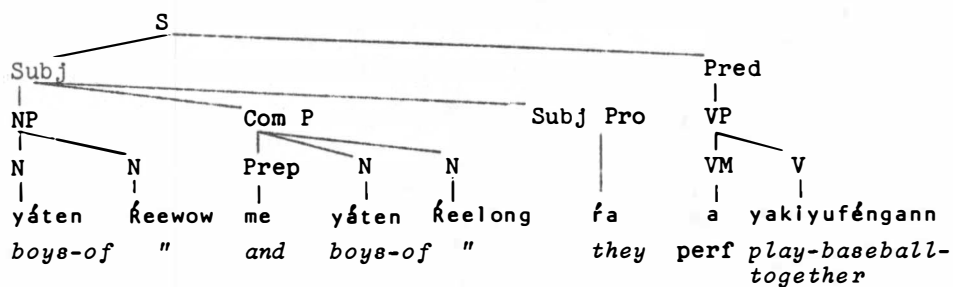
Yi ya nganiy minnewe.



Wolowe ya pwal yómelláátá yaan pawú.

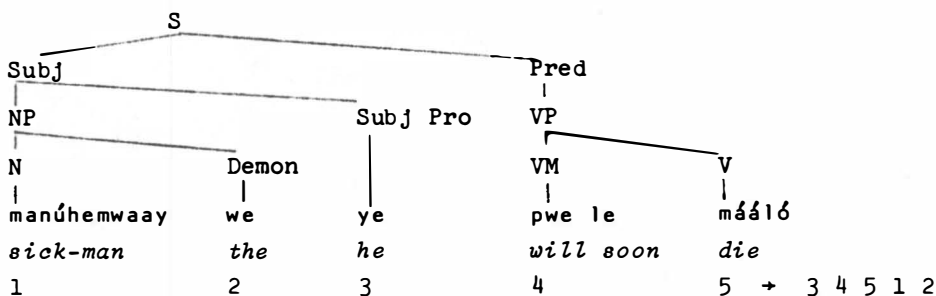


Yáten kéewow me yáten kéelong, fá a yakiyuféngann.



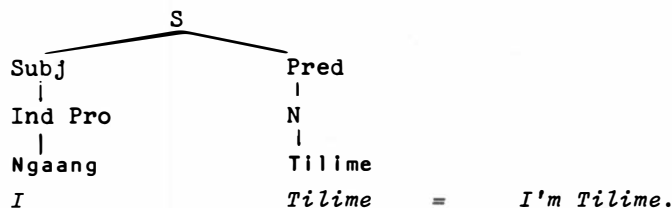
*The boys of kéewow and the boys of kéelong play baseball together.*

Ye pwe le mááíló manúhemwaay we.

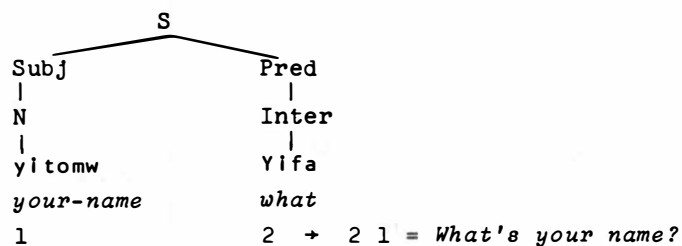


*The sick man will soon die.*

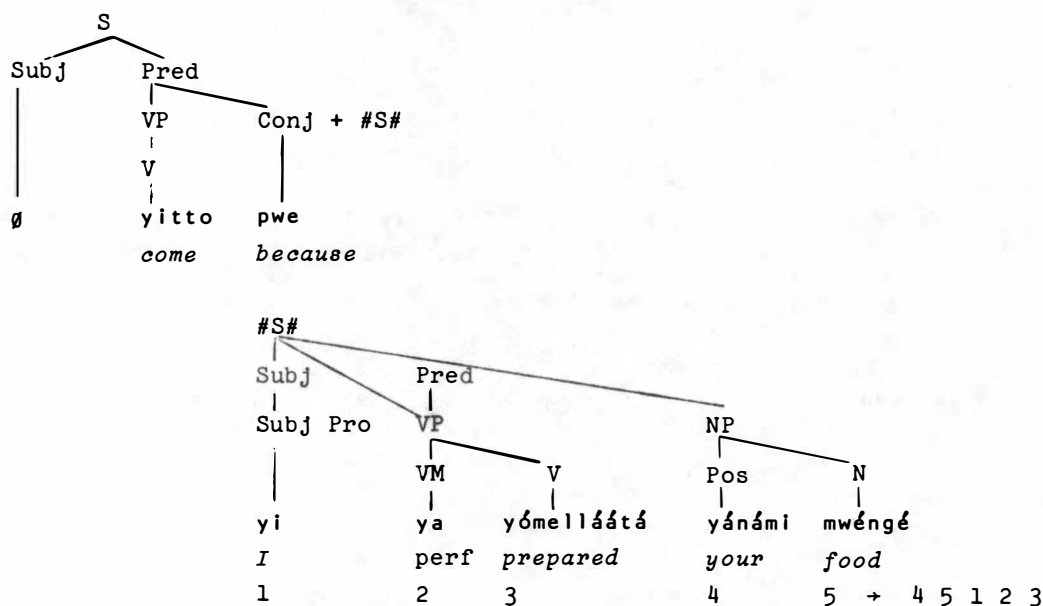
Ngaang, Tilime.



Yifa yitomw?

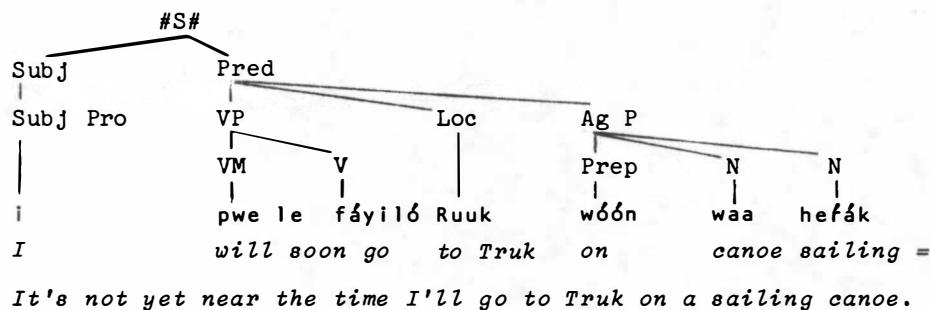
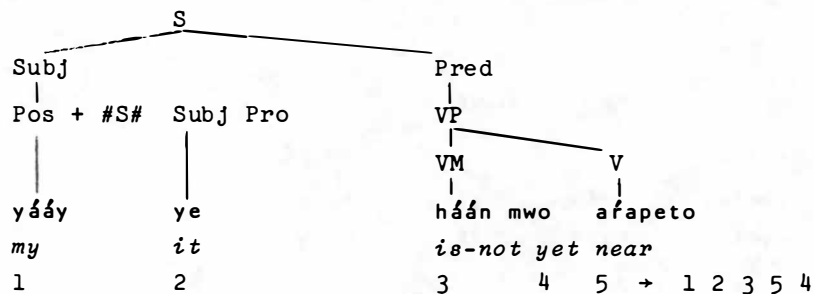


Yitto pwe yánámi mwéngé yi ya yómelláátá (Tl:78).

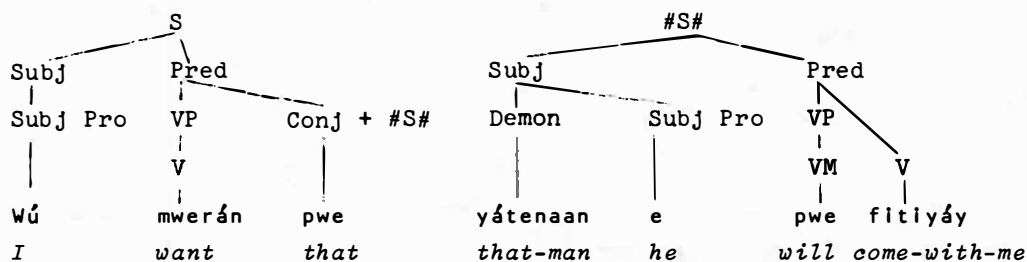


Come because I've prepared your food.

Ye háán afapeto mwo yááy i pwe le fáyló Ruuk wóón waa hefák.

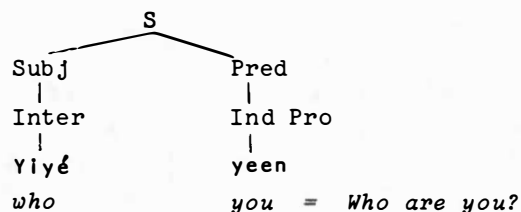


Wú mwerán pwe yátenaan e pwe fitiyáy.

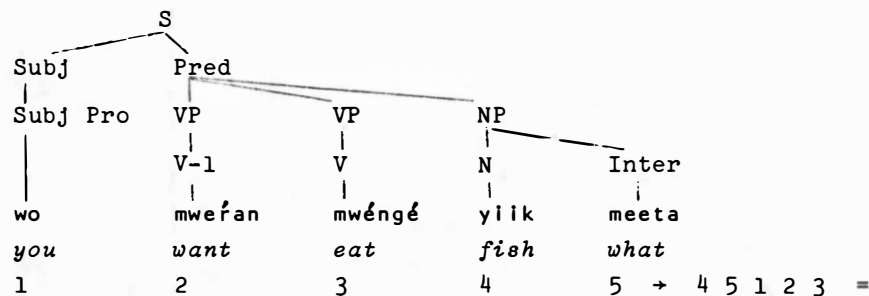


= I want that man to come with me.

Yiyé yeen?



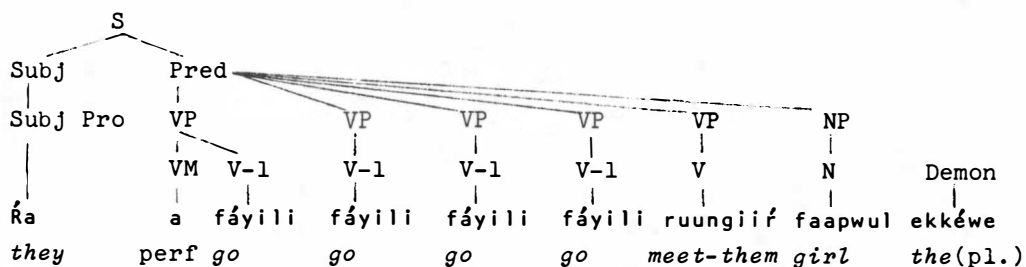
Yiik meeta wo mwefan mwéngé?



Which fish do you want to eat?

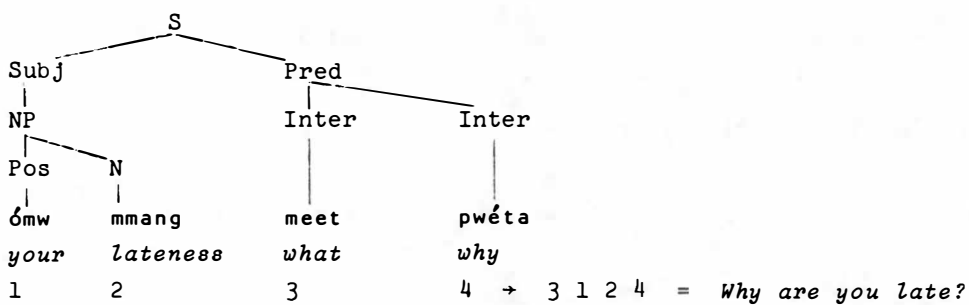


Áa a fáyili fáyili fáyili fáyili ruungiif faapwul ekkéwe (T1:49).

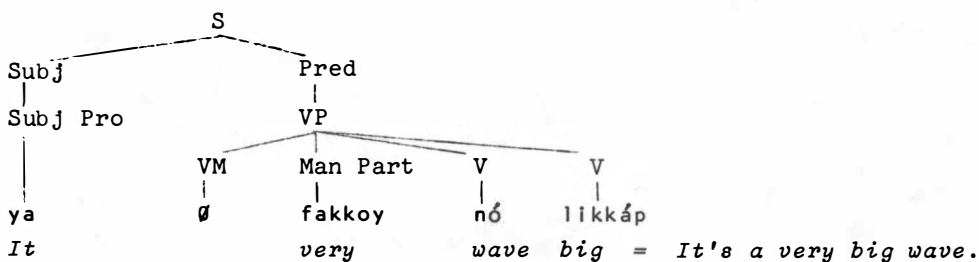


= *They went on and on and on and met the girls.*

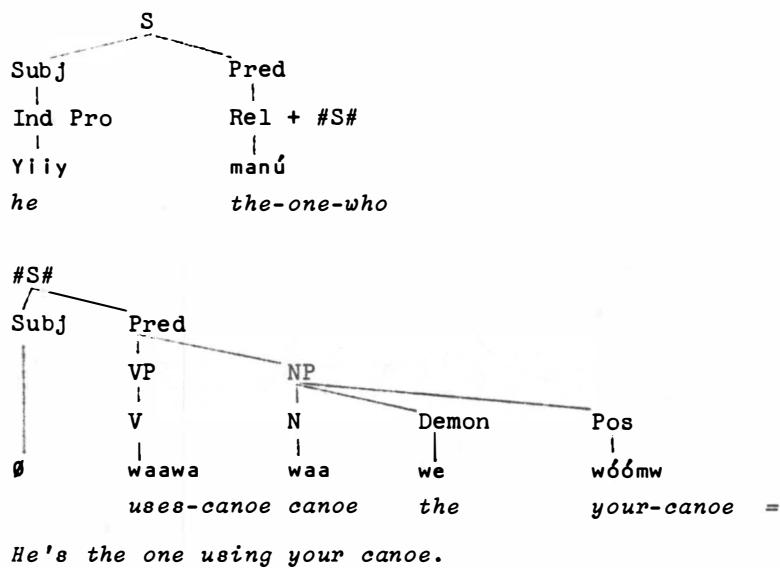
Meet ómw mmang pwéta (Pis)?



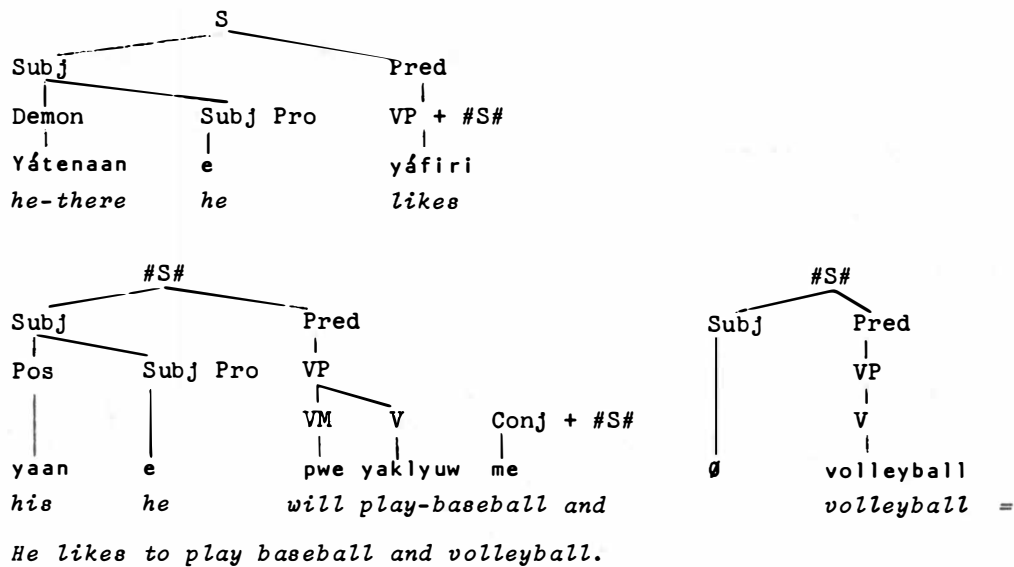
Ya fakkoy nó likkáp.



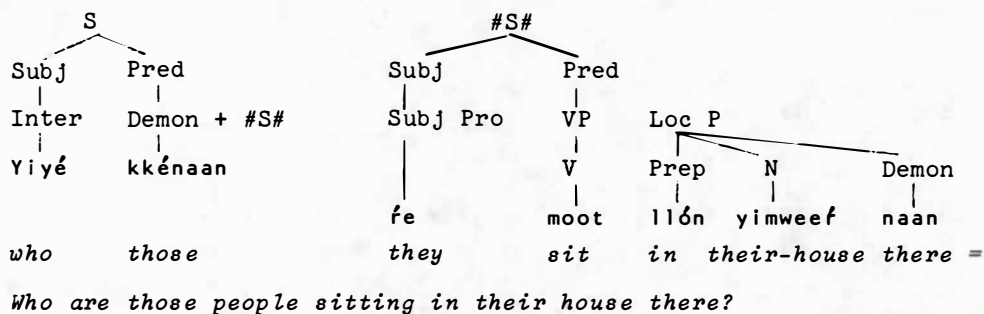
Yiiy manú waawa waa we wóómw.



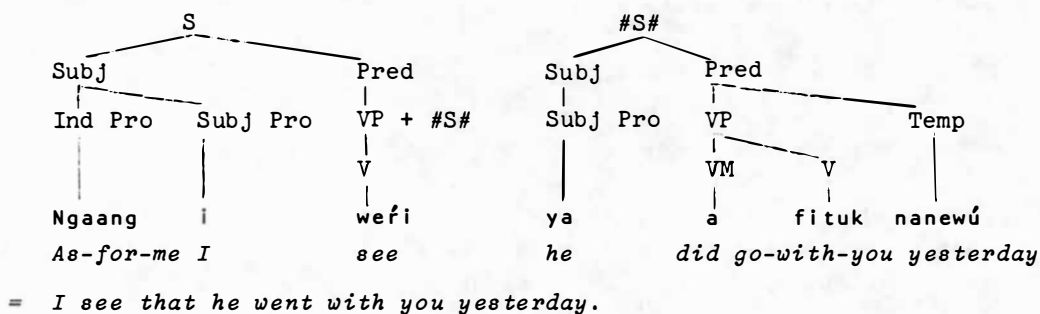
Yátenaan e yáfiri yaan e pwe yakiyuw me volleyball (Pis).



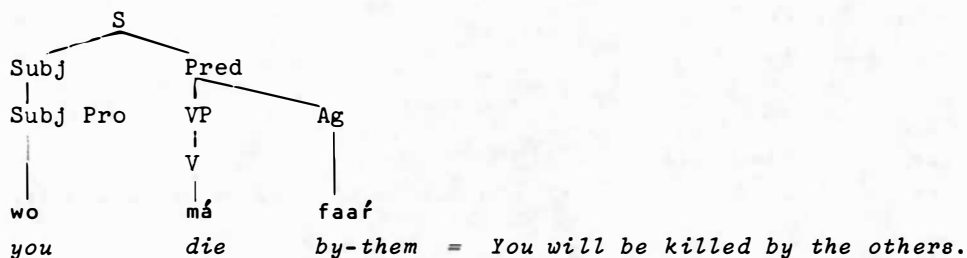
Yiyé kkénaan fe moot llón yimweef naan (Ulul)?



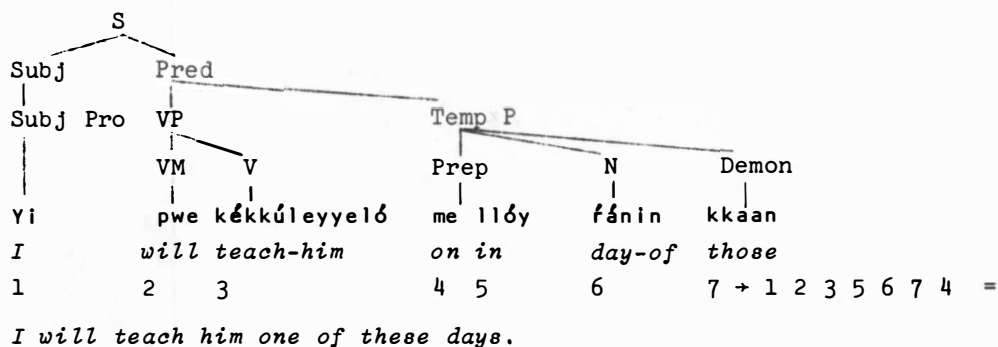
Ngaang i wefi ya a fituk nanewú.



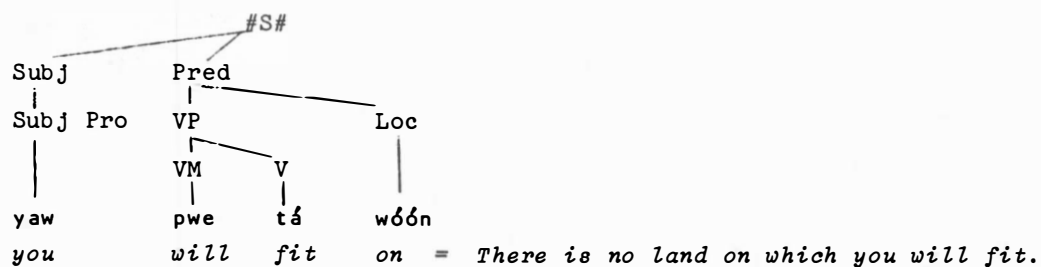
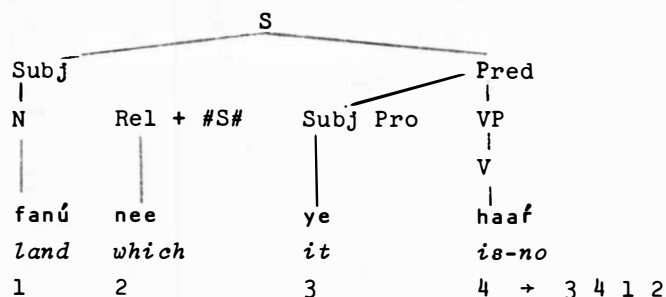
Wo má faaf (T2:66).



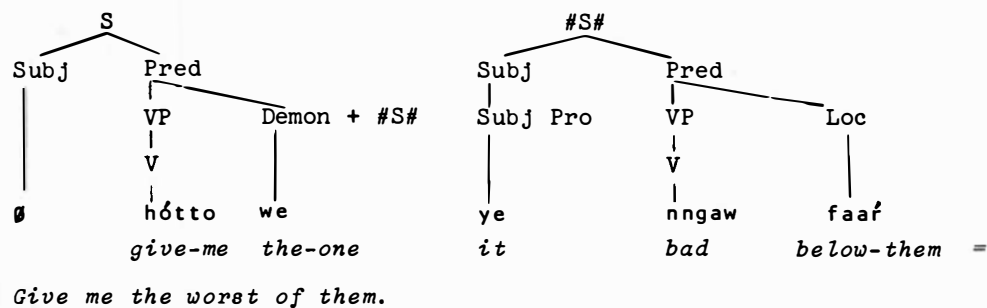
Yi pwe kékkúleeyeló 11óy fánin kkaan me (T3:37).



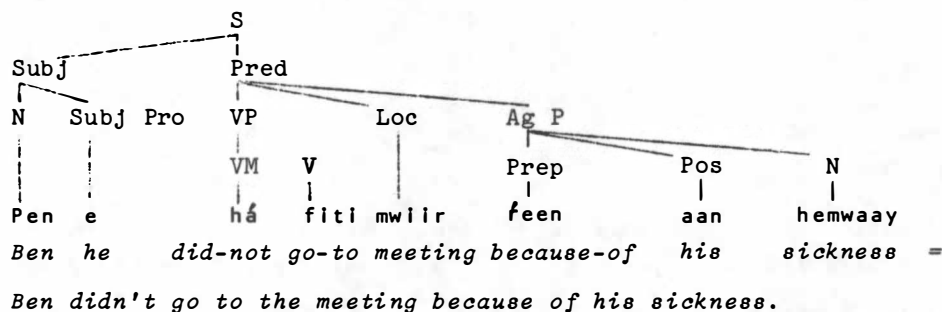
Ye haaf fanú nee yaw pwe tá wóón (T2:17).



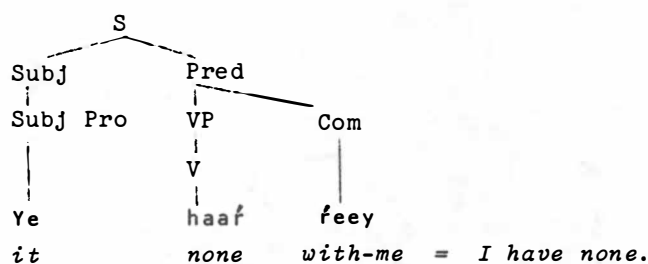
Hóotto we ye nngaw faaf.



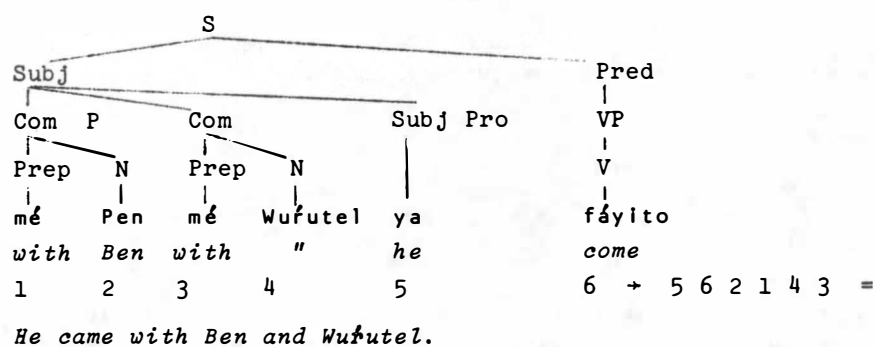
Pen e há fiti mwiir feen aan hemwaay.



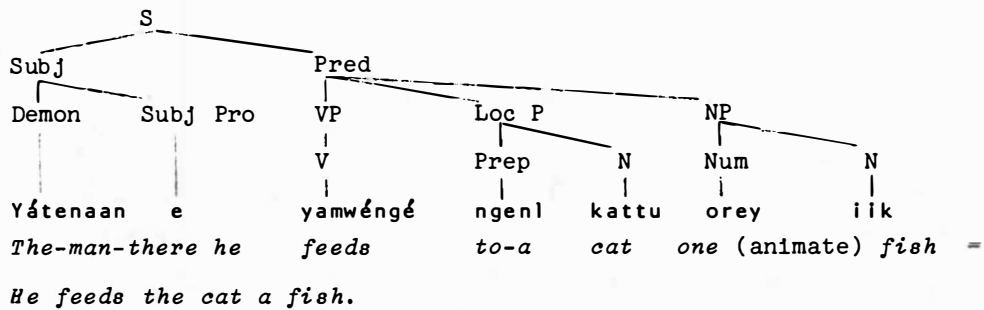
Ye haaf feey.



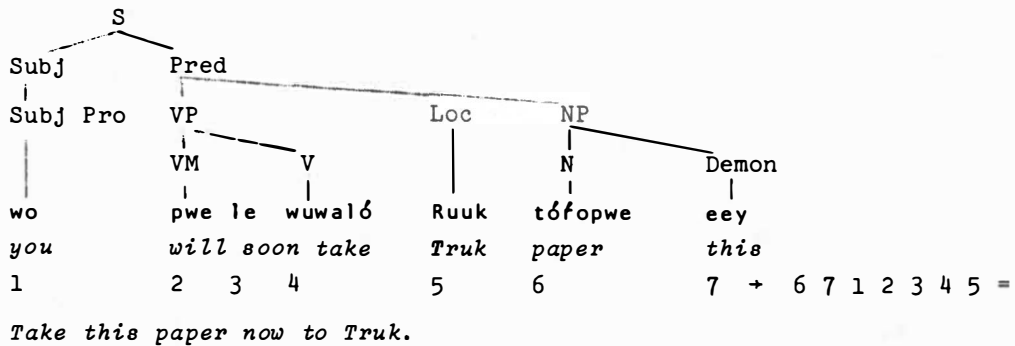
Ye fáyito Pen mé, Wufutel mé.



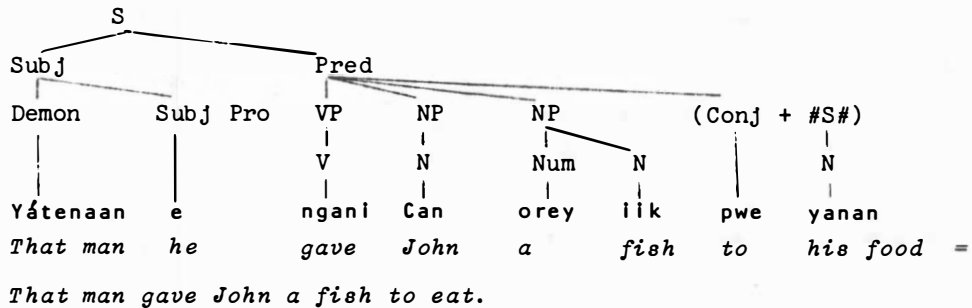
Yátënaan e yamwéngé ngenl kattu oreý ilk (Pis).



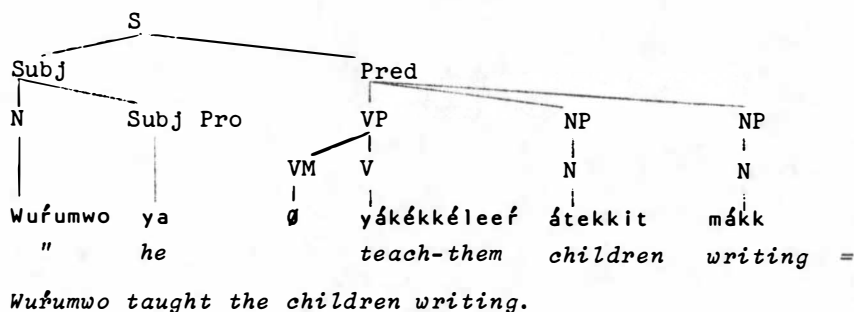
Tófopwe yeey, wo pwe le wuwaló Ruuk.



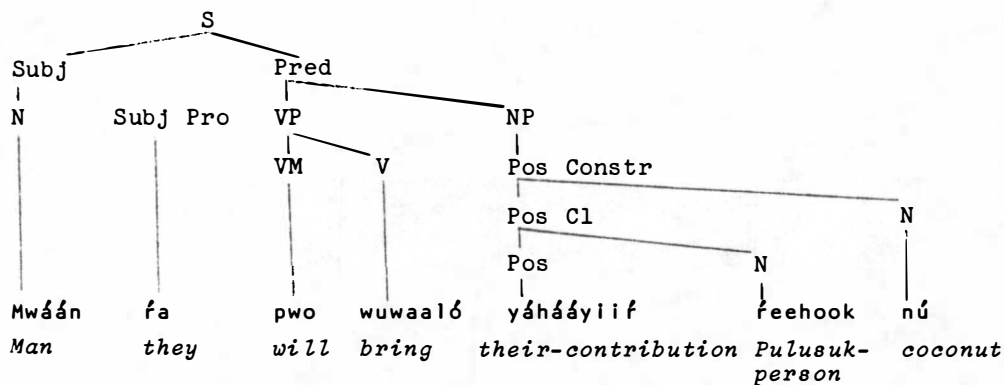
Yátënaan e ngenl Can oreý ilk (pwe yanan) (Pis).



Wufumwo ya yákkékkéleef átekkít mákk.

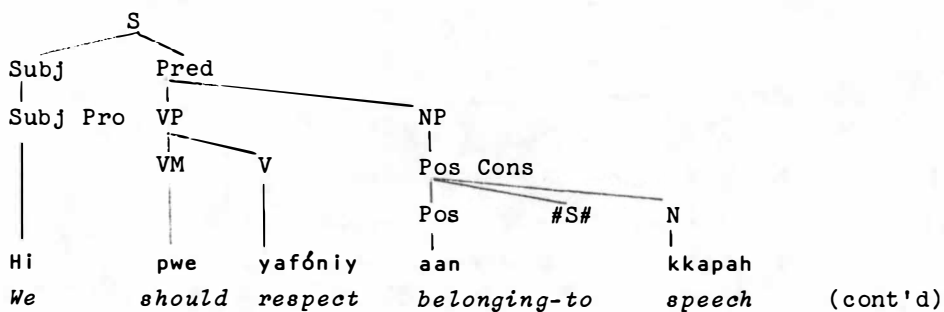


Mwáán fa pwo wuwaaló yáhááyíif feehook nú.



= The men will bring as their contribution the coconuts for the Pulusuk people.

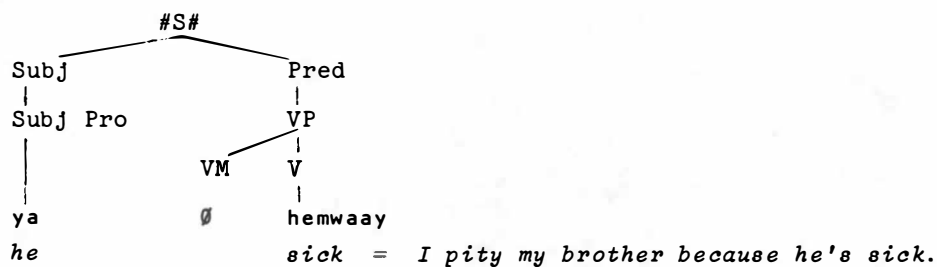
Hi pwe yafóniy aan iin me haam kkapah.



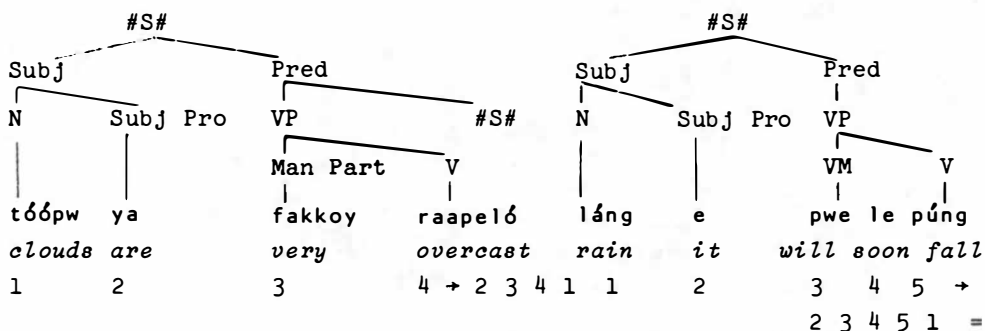
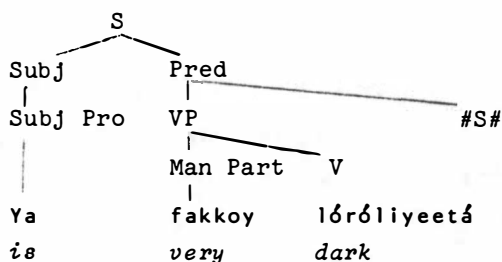




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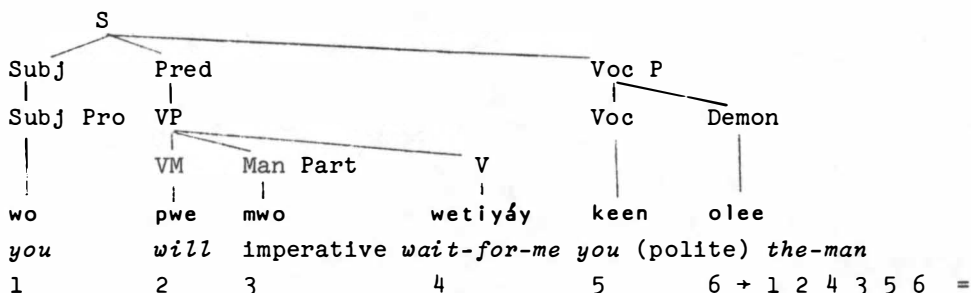


Ya fakkoy lóróliyeetá, ya fakkoy rappéló tóópw, ye pwe le púng láng  
(T1:63).



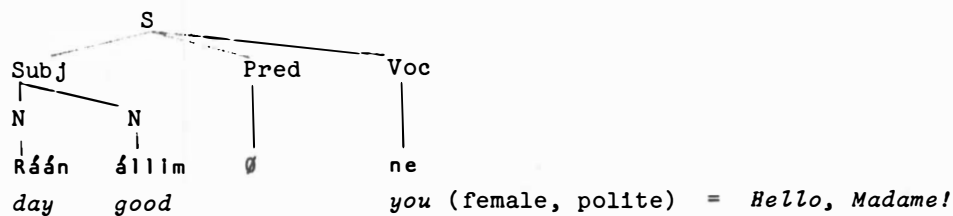
*It's very dark, clouds are quite overcast, it will soon rain.*

Wo pwe wetiyay mwo, keen olee (T3:78).

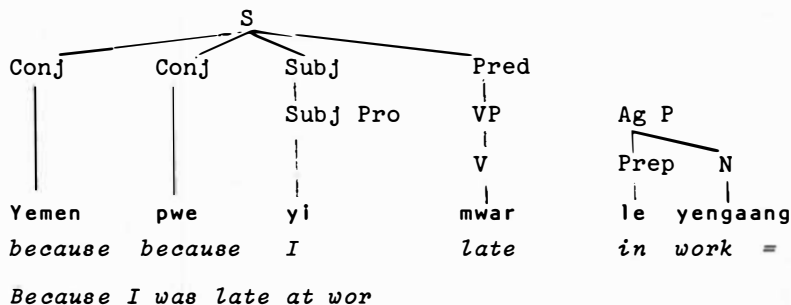


*Wait for me, Sir.*

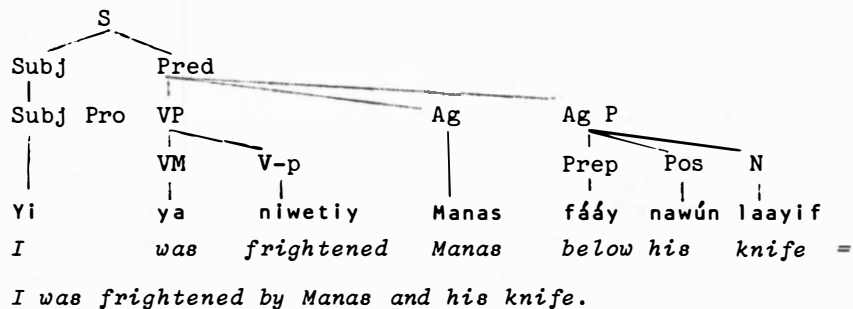
Ráán állim ne!



Yemen pwe yi mwar le yengaang (Pis).



Yi ya niweti y Manas fááy nawún laayif.



## 19. DEFERENTIAL AND RESTRICTED WORDS

Circumspect and deferential language is used by a man to his older brother or to his wife's adult brothers, a woman to all her brothers, and anyone to a chief. With this careful language is a taboo on calling these respected individuals by their common names. These *kapah méréccóf* (*soft words*) are marked DEFER. in the *Dictionary*, and some of them are listed below, with literal meanings, if any, and ordinary terms following in parentheses. The deferential words do not include the polite vocatives listed in section 4, which (except possibly for *fewe*) are constantly used by everyone, as on meeting on the island pathways. The deferential words, on the other hand, are heard infrequently. Most of them are for body parts, speaking, sleeping, or eating. The references to feet (*-pere*) and footsteps (*-ipw*) are occasioned by avoidance taboos; women are supposed to look at their brother's feet, never in the face. For the polite use of the third person singular instead of the second person, see section 4.

## Deferential words

- fáánpipw* to speak ("under footsteps"; *kapah*)  
*fáánpere* eye, mouth, to speak ("underfoot"; *maah*, *yaawo*, *kapah*)  
*féwút* cooked food (*yan-*)  
*hakúfuuw* to see (*wefiy*)  
*hafof* neck (*wúúw*)  
*hayipar* to sleep (*mawúf*)  
*kénammwe* to sleep ("peace"; *mawúf*)  
*lúkúnpipw* to see ("sides of footsteps"; *wefiy*)  
*lúkúnpere* to see ("sides of feet"; *wefiy*)  
*pwofaawoh* ear (*háling*)  
*rééniféwút* tongue ("food leaf"; *réénikan*)  
*feepiya* to understand (*weewe*)  
*ruuru*: see *yoruuru*  
*wiih* food share, to eat (*ttupw*, *mwéngé*)  
*wóholó* to die (*mááló*)  
*wúlún* head, hair ("foliage"; *makúf*)  
*yááyá* to eat ("to use, speak"; *mwéngé*)  
*yátél* to sleep (*mawúf*)  
*yóloni*, *yóóló*, *yóónekiyy* to speak (*kapah*)  
*yóruuru*, *ruuru* to look at (*wefiy*)  
*yóttóówéf* food gift (*ttupw*)

### Restricted words

Words in an even larger group are labelled restricted in the *Dictionary*. These words are not used today in the presence of persons with whom one uses deferential language. This is not the usual explanation of restricted words. Almost anyone will tell you that restricted words (*kapah cców (heavy words)*) are not used in the presence of the opposite sex. Yet I heard women say some of them to me every day. This may be due to these reasons:

(1) The missionaries use restricted words even in sermons. Therefore it may be presumed that white persons are not expected to know about them. Even the name for the holy sacrament of confirmation, *sakafamentoon aperakkul*, literally *strengthening sacrament*, contains the restricted word *perakkúl*. (2) The taboo on their use is weakening, and some people find avoiding such words difficult. After T<sup>4</sup> was recorded, a fast conversation, the young speakers said that they had tried to avoid restricted words, yet they did say *niwúwa fear*, *rihirihin kind*, and *fayenngaw to be hurt* in verses 6 and 27. In the texts, few such words were noted. The polite *fáyópwut bad luck* was recorded in T2:24 instead of the more common *fayenngaw*; similarly *kkel strong* instead of *perakkúl* in T2:71. Use of such words needs objective study, as by analysis of public addresses. A successful politician, aged about 40, said that although use of restricted words was becoming increasingly common, he would himself never use them because they were 'impolite'. (3) Many of these words, such as *nngaw bad*, are not taboo in Trukese, and may be heard every day on Trukese radio broadcasts.

It was not possible to discover sexual, excretory, or profane associations, phonetic or semantic, with most (but not all) of these words that might restrict their use. Considerable tolerance is displayed of phonetic similarity. The vulgar word for *vagina*, *fif*, has not driven out the polite word for *good*, *fir*.

Words such as *fif* are marked VULGAR in the *Dictionary*. These words are mostly sexual or scatological and are avoided in mixed company. This prohibition also needs study.

No system of tabooing words such as that described by Roger Keesing for the Kwaio in the Solomon Islands has been noted; the restricted words seem never to have been associated with names of chiefs or deities. And the word 'taboo' may be much too strong, in view of the vigorous survival of these words, as well as of the vulgar words, not unakin to the longevity of many such terms in English. It is unlikely that use of restricted language affords the speaker a sense of recklessness or

masculinity, as may to some extent account for the persistence of obscene language in English.

There follows some of the restricted words and their acceptable replacements.

Restricted	Acceptable	
fah	kékkay	<i>laugh</i>
hoolá	mwórow	<i>steal</i>
kacc	fir	<i>good</i>
limekacc	limefiir	<i>clean</i>
tino kacc	tinofiir	<i>speak properly</i>
tipakácc	tlpáfiir	<i>kind</i>
tiwakacc	tiwafiir	<i>possible</i>
waakacc	waafiir	<i>generous</i>
yalúkacc	yalifiir	<i>pretty</i>
kúholó	yokohaaló	<i>defecate, urinate</i>
mahappaat	wukkuf	<i>to play, joke</i>
mmóng	lkkáp	<i>large</i>
cómmóng	toolap	<i>much</i>
tipemmóng	tlpelikkáp	<i>greedy</i>
mwáliyáh	likotóów	<i>to play</i>
niwúwa, niweti	mehak	<i>fear</i>
nngaw	yállew, yópwut	<i>bad</i>
fayennngaw	fayópwut	<i>harm</i>
tino nngaw	tino yállew	<i>use restricted or vulgar language</i>
waanngaw	wóópwut	<i>stingy</i>
paa, yámeyaw	yóllow	<i>feces</i>
payitiló	púngúló	<i>lost</i>
payitiy	yareey	<i>throw</i>
ppaat	yameláy	<i>varied</i>
perakkúl	kkel	<i>strong</i>
yáperakkúl	yakkaleey	<i>strengthen</i>
rihirihin	wuluulún	<i>kind, nature</i>
yapelen, yapwahan	yafawar	<i>loincloth</i>

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